HUNGER IN AMERICA **SEN. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS**

THE NATION

APRIL 26, 1971 35 cents

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LETTERS

first aid

Dillsburg, Pa.

DEAR SIRS: Robert Sherrill's "The Black Humor of Housing" [*The Nation,* Mar. 29] aptly notes the failure to produce new housing for the poor who need it, yet the article infers that more cheap money for the purchase of more housing would change things for the poor. Only for a few. A better solution would send workmen in behind housing inspectors and thereby improve the housing immediately instead of waiting a decade for new construction. The distinction is major. It would employ workmen instead of planners and caseworkers. It would ignore gimmicks of mortgage bankers and the insurance mentality that dominates the FHA. It would also run headlong into objections of construction unions and restrictive building codes.

But the direction and effects would be clear: immediate relief for people suffering the most from the decrepit, substandard, creeping crawling slums and slumlords.

Robert B. Dennis

the FBI's least wanted list

Santa Barbara, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: Here is a footnote corroborating Hank Messick's remarks concerning the unwillingness of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI to tangle with organized crime ["The Schenley Chapter," *The Nation,* Apr. 5.]

In late 1959 an essay was submitted to the Fund for the Republic asserting that organized crime, in addition to its routine operations in gambling, prostitution, and the rest, was extorting great funds from legitimate business. This essay also declared that organized crime was rapidly infiltrating legitimate business at all levels, in search of a respectable place to invest the tens of millions it was raking in.

The names of the rajahs of the underworld figured prominently; some dozens or more, all recognizable to anyone having a passing acquaintance with front-page headlines. Included were such as Joe Adonis, Meyer Lansky, Joe Bonnano.

With other officers of the Fund, I soon confirmed that there was enough in these sensational allegations to warrant action. But what action? In all innocence we decided to put the matter before the FBI. With permission of the author of the essay we sent it to Mr. Hoover.

In a couple of weeks there appeared at the Fund Inspector William C. Sullivan, then as now one of Hoover's principal aides. Sullivan blandly told us that the FBI was not interested in organized crime. He said, looking me straight in the eye—and it was an unforgettable moment—that none of the names of the underground chieftains was known to the FBI, and did not appear in their files. Sullivan also said that if such things were going on, it was the task of local police to deal with them.

Sullivan said that he welcomed the interest of the Fund in the work of the FBI. He intimated strongly that there was not much mileage in following out the issues raised by the essay, and that the Fund would be better employed in studying other matters. The two subjects he recommended to our attention, with the approval of Mr. Hoover, were: first, a study of whether there is a greater proclivity to crime among blacks than among whites; and, second, a study of recidivism among ex-convicts, for the FBI was convinced it was increasing and a great peril to Americans. The Fund did not adopt either suggestion. *W. H. Ferry*

correction

Through an oversight, the name of Bayard Rustin appeared in an ad placed by the National Committee for Bill Green for Mayor of Philadelphia, in *The Nation* of April 19. We regret any embarrassment this may have caused Mr. Rustin. *National Committee for Bill Green*

EDITORIALS

Ping Pong Anyone?

The Chinese Government must have a public relations genius on its roster. The invitation to the U.S. table tennis team made front-page headlines all over the world and may mark the beginning of better relations between the American and Chinese Governments. It has already resulted in a better understanding between the two peoples, not only through the exchange of smiles and amenities but by such remarks as the one from Mrs. Erroll Resek of New York City, that at home the Great Wall would be "mutilated and cheapened by discarded paper and garbage." That observation alone will strike a responsive chord in the hearts of millions of Americans.

That such changes in attitude should follow a friendly meeting between two groups of athletes, mostly teen-agers, is one of those touches of humor that occasionally enliven the grim business of diplomacy. For although, as the President's press secretary has pointed out, this is a private visit, with no U.S. Government participation, hardheaded diplomacy is involved, not only in Washington and Peking but on the island of Taiwan, the principal object of contention between the two giants.

If the Chinese have managed their public relations well (could Chou En-lai's be the guiding hand?) Taiwan's Ambassador to Washington, Chow Shu-kai, who is leaving to become foreign minister, could hardly have done worse. Instead of playing down the importance of the visit, he denounced Peking's move as "psychological warfare" and expressed the hope that the American people "will have better wisdom and judgment than to be fooled by it." The American people will make up their own minds, and His Excellency should know that it is considered bad taste for an ambassador to give advice to the people of the country to which he is accredited.

At any rate, the ice has been broken. Washington has made some conciliatory gestures, and Peking has replied, obliquely, in the same spirit. Table tennis is the Chinese national sport and in the tournament in Japan which preceded the invitation the Chinese finished first in four out of seven categories, while the U.S. men's team was rated twenty-fourth, the women's team twenty-first. But, with extreme politeness, the secretary of the Chinese delegation explained that they were inviting the Americans "so that we can learn from each other and elevate our standards of play." Tact was also shown in permitting the Americans to lose by respectable scores—5 to 3 in the men's match, 5 to 4 for the women's team. One may hope that standards in other fields will be elevated as well.

The Sovereign FBI

With the exception of what J. Edgar Hoover himself may think, the opinion that he should quit is now approaching unanimity. But the widespread desire to get rid of the head G-man should not be allowed to obscure the more important questions of the performance of the FBI over the years, the abuses and malfunctions that have been allowed to accumulate within it, and what the future of the organization is to be.

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To an almost incredible extent, Mr. Hoover was able to impress on "his" FBI a distorted view of its proper function. One phase of this perversion is revealed in this issue in an important communication from W. H. Ferry, well known to *Nation* readers, and a man of unquestioned veracity. It confirms what responsible critics of the FBI have long suspected.

Hoover made the organization into a kind of internal CIA, and meanwhile, according to his own statistics, crime increased by leaps and bounds. This meant nothing to him except as leverage to get larger appropriations for an organization that was becoming steadily less effective in carrying out its proper duties.

As Sen. Edward M. Kennedy has been arguing, what is needed now is a thorough investigation of the FBI's functioning. How good is its intelligence? How reliable are its informants? To what uses are its files put? If it has been guilty of unlawful activities, how were these perpetrated and how can a repetition be prevented? Alan Barth, in a column for *The Washington Post*, sums up the real issue: "The trouble with the FBI is that it has become a sovereignty. It is, in a true sense of the term, irresponsible."

This irresponsibility had its origin in the character and temperament of the director. During his tenure, now approaching half a century, he has transmitted his tyrannical nature to all parts of the swollen organization. There is the Shaw case. Equally outrageous is the case of three young women who were doing unclassified clerical work for the FBI and who were forced to resign because they were helping at the National Peace Action Coalition. Mr. Hoover may not have known of this matter, which, like the Shaw dismissal, is being challenged in the courts, but it shows what the FBI has become under his direction.

Ironically enough, it may not be entirely to the nation's advantage that Mr. Hoover should retire just now. If he does, Mr. Nixon will appoint his successor—rumored to be Jerris Leonard, Assistant Attorney General in the Mitchell Department of Justice. If Hoover clings to his post until 1972, it is distinctly possible that a Democratic President would ease him out. It makes considerable difference whether the new head of the FBI is, say, Jerris Leonard, or perhaps Ramsey Clark or Burke Marshall.

But whoever replaces Hoover, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that he will be the first man in forty-seven years to have the opportunity of inspecting and approving the FBI from attic to cellar. It is more than an opportunity; it is one of the country's most important duties.

The Uses of Bad News

On March 18 the Vice President assured us that the Laotian adventure was an "unqualified success." He went on to say, however, that if it proved to be a failure, the Administration would forthrightly—and promptly—acknowledge it to be just that. More recently the President seemed to be taking a half-step in that direction by saying that the invasion was not a success but could not be classified as a failure, a view which has since been adopted by Sen. Henry Jackson. But a month has now passed with no further word from Vice President Agnew, who has continued to be upset by what he regards as the inaccuracies

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and distortions of the media in reporting the operation.

But a glance at recent headlines is enough to indicate that the reporting of the media has provided a consistently clearer reflection of realities than have the releases, speeches and statements of the Administration. Pressure against the South Vietnamese is mounting in Cambodia, three weeks of heavy fighting in the highlands south of Pleiku have left the "pacification" program in ruins, and U.S. pilots report traffic moving north and south on the Ho Chi Minh Trail, as though the invasion had never taken place. Yet the Administration has made no further attempt to correct its initial assessment, nor has it abated its criticism of the media for its reporting and evaluation. So once again we are confronted by a credibility gap from which the President, the media and the people all suffer in varying degrees. Fortunately John Scali, the President's new senior consultant on foreign affairs information, has the remedy. "I'm a firm believer," he says, "in telling the truth when the news is bad. In that way you have more people ready to believe you when you tell them the news is good." So tell us, Mr. Scali, was the Laotian adventure a success or a failure?

China and Chile

Richard M. Nixon's principal political instrument on his journey to the Presidency was hostility toward communism in general, and toward Chinese communism in particular. That he is not totally ineducable is indicated by the beginnings of a halfway conciliatory attitude toward the People's Republic of China. That is the proper name, which, diplomats noted, the President used twice in his State of the World message last February. Now, by his attitude toward the Chile of President Salvador Allende Gossens, Mr. Nixon has a chance to show that he is actually throwing off his phobia about communism.

President Allende was elected with only 36 per cent of the total vote in September 1970. The phenomenon of an avowed Marxist coming to power in a Latin American country in an impeccably democratic election did not please American business interests, nor Edward M. Korry, the American Ambassador, nor Mr. Nixon himself. The President did not show overt hostility, but he made no pretense of cordiality. Mr. Korry, it should be noted, made the best of the situation and assisted in negotiating an agreement between the Chilean Government and Bethlehem Iron Mines, a Chilean subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel, under which the mining company received compensation estimated to exceed $30 million for its property. Further "Chileanization" is in prospect; the government will take over the vast copper industry and the banks, but President Allende has already given proof that he is no rabid Marxist, bent on putting into practice Marx's exhortation to the workers to "expropriate the expropriators." All he insists on is the right of Chileans to develop their resources for the benefit of Chileans. The copper interests happen to be American, but, Allende told C. L. Sulzberger, "It would have been just the same had the copper mines been in the hands of the investors or companies from Japan or the Soviet Union or France."

Now there is further evidence that American hostility to Allende's regime will not prevail. In Chile, the inauguration of a new President is followed after some five months by legislative or municipal elections, which all parties concede are a test of the new government's popularity. However, in the past twenty years no new President has done better in these elections than hold the percentage he won when running himself. In the municipal elections of early April, by contrast, Allende's coalition rose from 36 per cent to just short of an absolute majority.

However, as *Le Monde* noted, the most important thing about the elections was that they were held. Before his election, Allende's enemies were spreading the scare rumor that his victory would mean the end of elections in Chile. Another canard that has been circulated is to the effect that Chile would allow the USSR to establish a naval base on its coast. This story began to spread when Russia provided aid for improvements to the fishing port facilities of Valparaiso. But the arrangemnts had been concluded by Allende's predecessor, President Eduardo Frei, and Allende has said that he would welcome similar credits from the United States. The last thing he wants is to become involved in the quarrels of the great power blocs. In trying to manage a peaceful transition to socialism, he can find plenty of trouble at home.

In his February State of the World message, President Nixon said: "We are prepared to have the kind of relationship with the Chilean Government that it is prepared to have with us." Allende is evidently taking him at his word.

Swelling the Chorus

"Three years ago," says Harvey Akeson, a member of the Oregon House of Representatives, "you couldn't get thirty names, including mine, to a petition of this kind. But look at the number of state legislators who signed: 708, and there would have been more if there had been more time."

The petition, presented to legislative leaders in Washington late in March, urged Congress to "vote for amendments to Defense Appropriation bills and for other legislation to complete the withdrawal of all American forces no later than December 31, 1971."

Thus, the legislators of thirty-five states—men and women closer to the people than members of Congress—asked for American withdrawal a year ahead of the date set by the Democratic caucus. The petition was initiated by two Wisconsin lawmakers: Sen. Carl Thompson and Rep. Midge Miller.

"Three years ago," says Akeson, a young man from Portland, "I didn't know enough about the war and I didn't care enough to know. Maybe that's because I was cautious and didn't want to jeopardize my political career. But now I don't think about my future. From now on I'm going to oppose the war in every way I can, with all the energy I can, without worrying about my political image. The hell with traditional politics if it continues the killing. Getting out of Indochina is more important than my getting re-elected."

In Oregon, Harvey Akeson is regarded as a moderate, even among the peace people in the legislature. That's an indication of the sentiment that is raging across the nation.

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Needling the Networks

Serious issues seldom vanish of their own accord. Once surfaced, they return in more malignant forms until they are resolved. Such is the case with the subpoena which the Subcommittee on Investigations, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, chaired by Rep. Harley O. Staggers, has served on the Columbia Broadcasting System to produce all outtakes and other materials used in filming "The Selling of the Pentagon." This issue, of course, has a history (see *Nation* editorials, February 16 and March 9, 1970). At that time the immediate question was whether or not Mike Wallace of CBS would respond to a telephone request from the Department of Justice to produce material of the same sort having to do with a program about the Black Panthers. The impasse was resolved then—or it seemed to be—by some beguiling words from Attorney General Mitchell about "guidelines," and Mr. Wallace was excused from appearing.

Now the threat is more serious, if only because it comes from a committee of the House. Networks are more concerned—and with good reason—with what Congress may do than with what some individual official on the executive side may say. For one thing, the networks are aware that the FCC is directly responsive to Congressional pressure; budgets and pending legislation may be involved. Moreover, there have been persistent rumors of late that the Congress may be considering a degree of legislative supervision over network news programs.

CBS has taken a strong stand. It has announced that it will produce a copy of the film and a written transcript, but nothing more. This stand has been endorsed by NBC, by the Producers Association of NET, and by a sizable section of the press which is well aware that essentially the same issue is involved in the Caldwell case, now on appeal, which involves the right of a reporter to withhold notes, etc. A timely Peabody Award for "The Selling of the Pentagon" has no doubt strengthened CBS's position. Also it should be helped by the fact that the Pentagon has corrected some of the practices which the film criticized.

Another aspect of this second round of the attack requires special emphasis. Not only are networks and their affiliates constantly apprehensive about the licensing powers of the FCC but a growing querulousness on the part of the affiliates has begun to make the networks uneasy. If the support and loyalty of its affiliates begin to erode, any network is in trouble. And there is evidence that some affiliates, responding no doubt to local pressures generated by the President and Vice President, have begun to complain about the network handling of news. For example, it is said that a few affiliates have notified CBS that they intend to give the Pentagon equal time to reply to "The Selling of the Pentagon" because they are not satisfied with the way complaints of bias and distortion were handled.

Moreover, *Business Week* (April 10) reports that "a lot of stations see an inexpensive way to become autonomous and build audiences by selecting their own programs, rather than merely depending on what the networks send them." Independent producers are offering productions free of charge to local stations, hoping in that way to pick up sponsorship, and the strategy seems to be working to some extent. This sort of thing does not contribute to the self-confidence of network executives who find themselves sparring with Congressional committees. Thus, the needling of network news programs is likely to continue and to turn more aggressive. The networks are becoming more vulnerable and their critics know it.

The Business of War

That merely inveighing against war and crying for peace is not highly effective would seem to be proved by the duration of the Indochinese war to date, and its indefinite prolongation into the future. But some sections of the peace movement are becoming more sophisticated. An important illustration is the Economic Priorities Report, published by the Council on Economic Priorities, 1127 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. The full report costs $35 a copy, but those interested can obtain information on the Council's work by writing to the above address.

In a study of this magnitude one can get a realistic sense of what "the business of war" is all about, and some misconceptions may be corrected. For example, aerospace companies rank high, as would be expected, among the government's beneficiaries in the war industries, but there are numerous companies known as civilian producers who get an excellent share of the gravy. A war consumes many items—bandages, medical supplies, typewriters, computers, uniforms—which are not in the weapons category.

In its report, the Council has studied in depth the war business of 523 corporations which have held contracts from January 1965 through December 1970 as suppliers for the war in Vietnam. Over this period of six years, the U.S. Government spent $120 billion on that war alone. Approximately half of the amount went to U.S. corporate contractors. The 523 corporations included in the study received $33.5 billion for materials and services directly related to this one war, a small one as wars go.

Among companies not generally regarded as "merchants of death" are AMF, known for such benign products as motorcycles, basketballs and golf equipment. It also was blessed with $339 million worth of contracts for production of bomb bodies, mortars and artillery projectiles.

¶Alcoa sold $130 million worth of aluminum landing mats for airfields, motor tubes for rockets, and aluminum powder for demolition bombs.

¶Eastman Kodak operated an army ammunition plant: the bill came to $249.5 million.

¶Bulova Watch: $89.1 million for detonating fuses.

¶Augusta Bag and Burlap Company: a modest $7.8 million for sandbags.

¶Chesebrough-Pond, in the business of beauty aids and the like, got $2.2 million for camouflaged bandages. Not a very large sum—still, a million is a million.

It should be noted that the $60 billion in supplies and weapons for our interventions in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, etc., and transactions involving allies (Thailand, et al.) represent business for numerous subcontractors all over the United States. The billions spent for ruining the countries of Indochina are thus a mainstay of American business in all its ramifications.

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THE REALITY OF AMERICAN HUNGER

SEN. ERNEST F. HOLLINGS

Washington

If you ask the average American what he thinks about his country, you will probably receive variations on the theme that the United States is a land of promise and plenty, as long as you work hard and strive for a goal. After all, isn't that the formula that made this country great? Don't our farms and industries pour out a torrent of goods and services that are the envy of people everywhere? And don't we live in a political system which, even with its faults, still performs better than any other?

There *is* much that is right with America and we can be proud of our past. We have surmounted many challenges in the years since we claimed our independence, challenges that have wrecked political systems elsewhere in the world. We have had the resources to tackle our many problems.

Our best resources have always been human. Progress is people. It is healthy bodies and sound minds contributing their best efforts to the wealth and well-being of the nation. But the sad fact is that today millions of Americans are not in a position to contribute that best effort. Millions of Americans are handicapped by hunger and malnutrition—their bodies weak and subject to disease, their minds crippled and performing at a level far below their original potential. Hunger is a national disgrace. It results in a squandering of human resources that, quite aside from any humanitarian consideration, should be intolerable to a country that prides itself on its good business sense.

Hunger is an old scourge; it has been robbing the world of energy and creativity since the dawn of man, and for most of that time there was nothing man could do about it. He was at the mercy of natural forces, and in years of famine could do no more than hope to survive to a future harvest.

We today are not in that state. We have invented the tools to end hunger, to end starvation. And for most Americans, it has been done. Accordingly, we relax in the assumption that hunger is gone from this land—that, at worst, it concerns faraway places and faraway peoples. So confident have we in this country become that we no longer *mention* hunger on our list of national priorities.

The facts do not support our smugness. A surprisingly large number of Americans are still hungry and malnourished. Hunger is a reality for 15 million hard-core poor, and another 10 million stand in need of some food assistance. While many of us are preoccupied with a second car or a new house, the hungry poor still battle the specter of starvation, much as our ancestors did thousands of years ago. Hunger stalks in every corner of America and haunts citizens of every color—twice as many white as red and black combined. The situation is the more cruel because it is unnecessary. Without harvesting another bushel of wheat or another ear of corn, this country could provide each of its 205 million citizens with a decent diet. We could feed the hungry, feed them today, if we had the will and the leadership to do so. The investment would be returned many times over, not only in the satisfaction of seeing a healthy child develop its talents but also in dollar-and-cent increases in national productivity. Hunger is costing the United States far more than would the most far-reaching of feeding programs. Think also of the billions of dollars funneled into fighting the side effects of malnutrition. The taxpayer foots the bill for medical care, hospitalization, truancy officers, crime fighting and all the rest. How much more effective it would be, and more economical, to eradicate hunger than to throw billions into a never-ending struggle against its painful symptoms.

We all come late to the problem. I became aware of it late, and then only because I saw it with my own eyes, touched its victims with my own hand, and smelled its sickening stench. I wish every well-fed American could see what I have seen, because seeing is feeling. And if one feels, one can act. We are only beginning to wake up to the reality of this curse. There were stirrings in the 1960s: some on-the-spot investigations, Senatorial inquiries, a White House conference, a television special or two. Yet follow-up action has been too little and too late. We don't need any more White House conferences. We *know* the facts—how malnutrition bends the body and warps the mind. What we need is action.

Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, Democrat of South Carolina, has shown himself to be as deeply concerned as any man in the Congress about the continuing scandal and torment of hunger in this country. Accordingly, hearing early this month that the Administration, after two years in office, was alerting itself to the problem, we wrote to Senator Hollings. We asked: What are the facts about hunger in the United States? Why has nothing been done about it? What are the present blocks to meeting the situation? What can and should be done? The accompanying article is his reply.

The facts I speak of are medical findings, not political revelations. They have been gathered by some of the country's most respected doctors and scientists, and it is impossible to ignore them any longer. The National Nutrition Survey was mandated by Congress, in an act passed in December 1967, to determine the extent of malnutrition and health-related problems among the population. That survey has been completed; all the data are in. The scientists who conducted the survey knew that malnutrition is indicated by three basic symptoms: growth retardation, lower serum and urinary excretion levels for various nutrients, and less efficient performance at work, in school or at other physical or mental tasks.

Of the 70,000 Americans covered by the national sur-

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vey, most of course were poor. The design of the survey was to focus on low-income people because we know they stand the most risk of suffering from hunger and malnutrition. In general, the state-by-state surveys examined a higher proportion of poor people in South Carolina, Louisiana, Texas, Kentucky and West Virginia. The median income was higher in California, New York, Massachusetts, Michigan and Washington State.

From 9 to 42 per cent of those sampled around the nation had unacceptable levels of hemoglobin, which is an index of anemia. For comparison purposes, nutrition surveys conducted from 1965 through 1967 showed that hemoglobin deficiencies reached a high of 5 per cent in Honduras. Anemia is caused largely by a deficiency of iron, which is supplied by liver, green leafy vegetables, dried fruits, enriched cereals and cereal products, molasses and raisins. It results in weakness and fatigue, listlessness and inability to perform optimally with either mind or body.

Unacceptable levels of Vitamin A ranged from a low of 1 per cent in California and New York to a high of 23 per cent in the state of Washington. Vitamin A is essential for the formation of cells, particularly in the skin, as well as for normal vision. Its deficiency causes night blindness and in severe cases, permanent blindness. Vitamin A helps the body resist infection. It is found in whole milk and whole-milk products, dark green, leafy and yellow vegetables, and liver. The Vitamin A problem was most acute with children. For example, in South Carolina, 26 per cent of children tested from age 1 to 6 were deficient in Vitamin A. In Michigan, among 7-to-9-year-olds, 17 per cent had serious problems; 11 per cent had levels of less than 10 micrograms of Vitamin A per 100 milliliters of blood, an extremely serious deficiency. In Massachusetts, 17 per cent of those in the 7-to-15 age bracket needed treatment. For that same age group in West Virginia, 16 per cent were below acceptable levels, and in New York City 8 per cent of those 13 to 15 were similarly deprived. In some cases, the levels of Vitamin A deficiency among children were two and three times that of the population as a whole. Again, these overall levels are similar to what is found in surveys of underdeveloped nations.

Unacceptable levels of riboflavin exist in 30 per cent of the population surveyed in South Carolina. That was the high, and the figures drop off to a low of 4 per cent in New York. Riboflavin is essential for the utilization of protein and for other metabolic processes. It comes from dairy products, meats and green leafy vegetables, and the lack of it causes growth retardation, among other problems. Unacceptable levels of thiamine ranged from a high of 12 per cent in West Virginia to a low of 4 per cent in New York and Massachusetts. Thiamine affects physical growth, the function of the nervous system, and normal metabolism. A lack of it can cause growth retardation, edema and changes in the nervous system. Advanced cases are indentified as beriberi. Thiamine comes from liver, eggs, whole grain or enriched cereal, and lean meat.

Depending on the state, from zero to 14 per cent of the population surveyed had less than acceptable levels of Vitamin C. This, again, parallels the situation in poorly nourished countries. Vitamin C, as most know, comes from citrus fruits, tomatoes, and several other vegetables. It is essential to formation and growth of bones and teeth and the healing of wounds and resistance to infection. In advanced state, its lack causes scurvy.

The states of Texas and Louisiana, with 16 and 14 per cent respectively, showed the highest concentrations of unacceptable levels of serum albumin, and again the findings were much higher among children from birth to 5 years, due primarily to an absence of protein, which is required for growth and development of the body. Severe protein malnutrition, of which eleven cases in Texas required hospitalization, is known as kwashiorkor and marasmus. As one expert states, "These severe cases of malnutrition only rarely are found [in backward nations]; they either are hospitalized or have died."

As many as one-third of the children from infancy to 6 years examined by the survey had already suffered growth retardation. That is about what one finds in problem areas in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Two methods were used to test for growth retardation: wrist bone X-ray and height and weight measurements for age. Wrist bone examinations showed, for example:

Texas. A 30 per cent retardation among Mexican-American children. This means that children at 5 years of age had skeletal maturation of only 3.9 years. Comparatively, there was a 16 per cent delay for Negro girls.

Louisiana. After age 3, there was a delay of 10 per cent, or 9 months, for Negro children, compared to more than 30 per cent, or 1.5 years, for white children from the bottom socioeconomic levels.

New York. After age 3, a 15 per cent or 8-month delay in growth.

Michigan. A 5 per cent or 1.2 month retardation among Negro children from infancy to 2 years. Among white male children from the same age group, the retardation was 18 per cent or 4.3 months. Beyond 2 years of age, the retardation was less but continued to persist.

Kentucky. A delay of 7 to 24 per cent or 1.2 months to 13 months.

The study of height and weight measurements to age showed a definite correlation between growth retardation and poverty among children up to 6 years old. In three of the five states, the percentage of retardation suffered by children beneath the poverty level was about double that of children living in families with incomes of slightly above poverty to $8,000 a year. The National Nutrition Survey has shown that anemia is an across-the-board problem in every state surveyed.

Dietary studies indicate that a large segment of Americans are not eating even half the desirable levels of Vitamin A and iron; and they get less than a fourth of what they need of thiamine and riboflavin.

Those are merely some of the physical facts; equally critical is the effect of hunger upon mental capacity. The brain begins developing two weeks after conception, and the protein and nourishment it receives determine how it will grow. If the brain is denied protein during those critical months—in other words, if the mother is malnourished—the brain is stunted. It will never develop to its genetic potential. Medical studies indicate that protein

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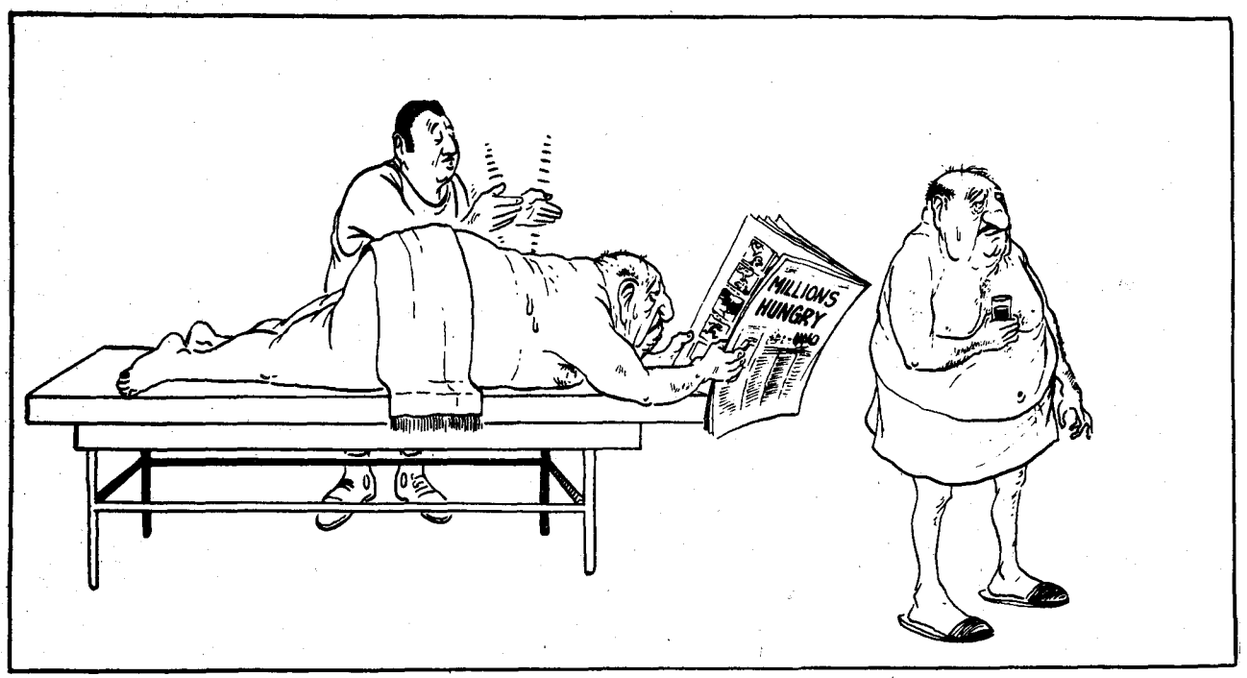

Vadillo—Siempre, Mexico

deficiencies before birth and during the first few years of life can cost a child up to 20 per cent of his intelligence. None of us would purposely give thalidomide or German measles to a pregnant woman, yet we do much the same thing by not providing her with adequate nourishment. We are virtually insuring that her child will be born physically and mentally impaired. I know that many people regard with contempt the poverty mother who is expecting her fifth or sixth or seventh child. Still, the child is going to be born. He is society's child, so obviously it is to society's benefit to give him the best possible start.

Five years ago, when I thought about hunger at all, I dismissed it by telling myself that not many people went to bed with empty stomachs in this land of affluence, and that if some did it was the result of their own shiftlessness. Then I found out who the hungry really are, and it was quite a surprise. Less than 1 per cent of those on the welfare rolls are able-bodied, able-minded men capable of holding a job. A 1968 study found 7.3 million people on welfare. Of those, 2.1 million were over 65, and most of those were women; 3.5 million were children; 900,000 were mothers. Another 800,000 were blind, handicapped or incapacitated for work. That left only 50,000 out of the 7.3 million. I am concerned about those who abuse the welfare programs, but we must not use that tiny minority as an excuse for not attacking the real problem. Let's do something about that 99 per cent. They are not drones living off the toil of others; they are new-born infants, deserted mothers, and disease-ridden old people beyond the possibility of employment.

We are all responsible for the continued existence of hunger in America. Lack of awareness is no excuse; sins of omission are as real as any. I don't accept the devil theory—singling out one person here or one agency there and saddling them with all the blame. We are all to blame, from average citizen through the President of the United States. The people, by closing their eyes to the evidence of hunger, are part of the problem. And those of us in positions of leadership are part of the problem.

Someone, of course, must lead the fight to eradicate hunger. Someone whose office is respected, someone who could surmount party partisanship and lead the way toward a national commitment. No one is better able to do so than a President of the United States. His office commands instant attention and nationwide respect. We need a President to get out front and lead his people, to go beyond rhetoric and see to it that the hungry are fed. We have had the *appearance* of action too long; now we need the *substance*. President Nixon should make a firm and lasting commitment to end hunger in the United States within the next five years. He should realize, all of us should realize, that the costs involved are infinitesimal, compared to the costs of our previous great national commitment—to land a man on the moon during the 1960s. And, above all, the President should realize that ending hunger will profit America many times over. Not only will it increase national productivity by billions of dollars but it will also show the underprivileged that meaningful reform can come from within the system. By so doing, much of the appeal of the radicals would be undercut and their influence would decline. For a President dedicated to law and order, I can think of no better program than wiping out the national blight of hunger.

Our current food programs are woefully inadequate. Here is just one example. We have a food-stamp program —one which I have supported and actively fought for. But as it is run today, the program is operating far below its potential. In May 1969, President Nixon talked about reforming and expanding the stamp program, but words came easier than action. It would take about $4 billion a year to feed the 15 million hard-core hungry through food-stamp allotments, yet last year the Administration failed to request enough funds to keep the program

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running on its current level of less than $1.4 billion and the Department of Agriculture actually spent more money just to keep abreast of the limited program then in existence than the President asked for! To top it off, Mr. Nixon's advisers now talk about phasing out food stamps. Behind this dismal performance is the Family Assistance Plan. Family Assistance is unwieldy, unworkable and unlikely to be passed by the Congress for some time. It fails miserably to deal with the hub of the poverty wheel—hunger. Doling out cash is no substitute for providing food. Given cash, the hungry poor will spend more to give their children clothing, medicines and the other necessities of life. Landlords will charge more for rent, and the hungry will be back where they started—still hungry. President Nixon could save billions of dollars by getting his facts straight and by throwing his power and prestige behind an adequate food-stamp program.

As it is now operating, the stamp program has many limitations besides inadequate funding. At the local level, there is often too little effort to make it a success. Frequently the person in charge of the county office is appointed by the very politicians who resisted the program in the first place. To qualify for stamps, applicants are forced to take a demeaning means test that does nothing except add red tape to an already bloated bureaucracy. Distribution centers are few and far between in most localities, so that the poor must arrange to travel many miles in search of an office. And when they do find one, more likely than not it is closed for all but a few hours or days a month. The efforts to inform and recruit the hungry are equally shameful. Some of the poor never realize that their county has a food-stamp office. Even if they do know, little effort is made to tell them the procedures which must be followed in order to qualify.

The results of all this are clear. Nationwide, less than one hungry person in three now receives food stamps. Even when all other food programs are included, we still fail to reach about 50 per cent of the hungry poor. Surely a nation that could spend $36 billion in farm subsidies in less than a decade to rid itself of the effects of abundance can do better than 50 per cent in caring for its needy.

We have the means at hand to accomplish the eradication of hunger and malnutrition. Still, hunger persists. On one side is human want. On the other side stand the money and means to end hunger. We must build the bridge between them. It is a bridge of will, compassion and good sense. What we confront is less a material challenge than a moral summons. Can we afford to ignore it? □

BELFAST

ORANGE BULLIES & BRITISH TORIES

ANDREW BOYD
Mr. Boyd writes on politics and economics for the New Statesman, Tribune, The Economist, Spectator, *and widely in the Irish press on both sides of the border. He is the author of* Holy War in Belfast.

Belfast

When James Chichester-Clark resigned the premiership of Northern Ireland on March 22, the British Government had to choose between imposing direct rule, which would have meant abolishing the Northern Ireland Government and Parliament (Stormont), or giving another Unionist leader the chance to form a government. Without hesitation, they decided to let Stormont continue under the leadership of Brian Faulkner, even though they knew that for most of his political career Mr. Faulkner had been an enemy of civil rights and was distrusted by Northern Ireland's Catholic minority, by many Unionist Party members, and by many Protestants in the general public. Faulkner is a Unionist militant who seems to, but may not, have deserted his former friends on the Unionist Right; he is not trusted by the moderates. As Premier, he is faced with the impossible task of winning back the support of the Right, of gaining the good will of the Catholics and the Protestant moderates, of convincing London that he can implement the reform program which Stormont was forced to accept in 1969, and of restoring something like peace and law and order in Northern Ireland.

Chichester-Clark resigned because Britain would not agree to the internment, without trial, of "known IRA leaders," to the rearming of the Northern Ireland police, and to other strong measures against "terrorists and extremists." Chichester-Clark wanted a law-and-order policy based on the assumption that there are only Catholic terrorists. London knows there are Protestant terrorists as well and is not convinced that the Catholics—the Irish Republicans—have been solely responsible for the outbreaks of violence within the past twelve months. Chichester-Clark's resignation came at the end of a long period of almost daily sabotage, murder, riot and arson, and only a week after three British soldiers had been murdered on the outskirts of Belfast. When he resigned, Reginald Maudling, the British Home Secretary, said there were enough troops in Northern Ireland to impose direct rule. He also said that direct rule from London would be the last resort. On the same day his Labour predecessor at the Home Office, James Callaghan, assured the Unionists that as long as they were able to form a government in Northern Ireland they would be allowed to do so.

Statements like these by Callaghan and Maudling are disturbing. If read deeply enough they could mean that even the most anti-Catholic, anti-reform Stormont government would be upheld by the British and entrusted, apparently, with the responsibility of implementing the reforms that both the Conservative government in Britain and the Labour opposition are now insisting upon. They could also mean that Britain will delay the abolition of

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Stormont until civil war is imminent in Northern Ireland or has actually broken out—as James Callaghan delayed interference until violence had erupted in Belfast and in the Bogside of Derry City, and lives were lost.

That is Britain's dilemma in Northern Ireland. Only the Unionist Party is capable of forming a government, yet the Unionists are primarily responsible for all the disorders, and have thrived for fifty years on the divisions, persecutions and discriminatory practices which Maudling and Callaghan want to abolish. Unionist irreconcilables like William Craig, a former member of the government, and the leaders of the exclusively and ultra Protestant Orange Order are obstructing reform and have threatened a Protestant uprising—an Orange rebellion in fact—if Stormont is abolished and direct rule imposed. The British are evidently more afraid of this threat than they are of Catholic discontent or the urban guerrilla tactics of the Irish Republican Army in Belfast.

Because of the strength of the Unionist Party and its inherently anti-reform nature, it is impossible to have a liberal government of Unionists in Northern Ireland. The government of Chichester-Clark included Faulkner, who is suspected of having plotted the downfall of the previous Premier, Terence O'Neill, because of his moderate reform policies. It included also John Taylor, a young reactionary who seemingly believes that all Protestant militants should be armed and who has, despite the policy and wishes of the British Government, been assisting groups of former B Specials—who were Stormont's Protestant militia until the British Government disbanded them in 1969—to form gun clubs and acquire weapons under license.

Men like Faulkner and Taylor do not believe in, and do not want, reforms that will reduce the power of the Protestant majority over the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. Yet Faulkner is now Premier and his government includes not only Taylor and John Brooke, another openly avowed enemy of reform, but also Harry West, whom O'Neill dismissed and who, until only a few hours before he joined the Faulkner cabinet, was campaigning against reform, demanding the return of the B Specials and calling for the dismissal of Chichester-Clark. Yet Britain has accepted Faulkner, wants the Catholics to believe he is a reforming Premier, and ignores the fact that Faulkner's real aim is to reunite and rehabilitate the Unionist Party and by so doing rescue Stormont from the destruction it merits.

The reforms which James Callaghan listed as immediate when he was Home Secretary in 1969 included the reorganization of local government, the extension of the municipal franchise to all adults and the abolition of privileged groups of voters, the disarming of the regular police, the disbanding of the B Special constabulary, the appointment of commissioners to deal with complaints against central and local government, a central housing authority which would take control of municipally built houses away from the mainly Unionist-controlled local authorities, the appointment of a Minister of Community Relations, and an act of Parliament to prohibit incitement to religious hatred.

The law prohibiting incitement to religious hatred was long overdue. For generations, Unionist politicians, Orange leaders and intolerant Protestant clerics had incited hatred against the Catholics. But this implanted hatred lies so deep that the act is not being applied. Attorney General Basil Kelly refuses to bring prosecutions, even when clear evidence of incitement is laid before him. As a reform the act is useless, and the Catholics know it. Every week, if they wish, they can read incitements to religious hatred in Ian Paisley's paper, *The Protestant Telegraph*, and know there will be no prosecutions. Paisleyism, Unionist Party politics, and the principles of the Orange Order are all one thing. They amount to hatred of Catholics, inordinate and distorted "loyalty" to Britain, and a determination that Ireland will not be reunited under one government for the whole country.

Whatever plans Harold Wilson and his Labour government may have had for dealing with Northern Ireland became irrelevant when the Tories won the general election in June 1970. The Tory victory caused dismay among the Catholics; it encouraged the Unionists, even though Edward Heath and Home Secretary Maudling both affirmed that they would continue with the Labour program of reform. Soon after the election, either because the Ulster Unionists were able to manipulate and influence the Heath government or because Heath and Maudling wanted to phase themselves out of direct involvement, the situation in Northern Ireland changed and became more dangerous.

It may be, though this will of course be officially denied, that the government in London gave the Northern Ireland Security Council, which consists of the Stormont cabinet, the Ulster police chiefs and the British Army general officers, authority to direct the British forces in Ulster, and that the Security Council used its power to goad the Catholics into acts of violence. The army command, suggests Hamish Fraser, in a recently published pamphlet entitled "Ireland 1971: Is Civil War Inevitable?," played into Stormont's hands by engaging in a series of politically inspired but quite fruitless searches for arms throughout the Catholic districts of Belfast. Mr. Fraser quite justifiably believes that Stormont "wore down" the British army command's possible resistance to these provocative searches "by means of liberal hospitality and old-school-tie charm." The army command accepted Stormont's assertion that the Catholics were the real enemies—not the Protestant militants.

There was then a plan of provocation to which the Republicans in Belfast reacted—understandably perhaps, but foolishly nonetheless. The provocation also took the form last summer of Orangemen parading back and forth within sight of the Catholic localities, of a massive army curfew and arms search in the Catholic-populated Lower Falls district of Belfast, and of sustained raids on Catholic houses in search of weapons. The same measures were not taken against the Protestants, nor were the marches of the Orangemen curtailed, even though in Belfast Protestant mobs had attacked the army and the police with great violence. When the Orangemen held their annual Twelfth of July demonstrations last year, the government in London placed a protective force amounting to nearly 15,000 regular troops, policemen and auxiliary troops in Belfast and other towns throughout Northern Ireland. To the Catholics this meant that once again the Tory government

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in London had taken the side of the Ulster Unionists and the Orangemen.

When the Government of Ireland Act partitioned Ireland in 1920, Northern Ireland, though remaining constitutionally part of the United Kingdom, was given its own local government and a Parliament with limited powers. Westminster remained the sovereign Parliament with supreme and ultimate control over "all persons, matters and things in Northern Ireland." Northern Ireland was placed under the supervision of the Home Office in London, though the policy of all Home Secretaries, until Mr. Callaghan's intervention, had been to interfere as little as possible. As Max Hastings has stated in *Ulster '69*: "the British Government was only too happy to leave Northern Ireland to run itself as best it might"; he adds that "had Westminster returned to ruling Ulster like any other part of the United Kingdom the events of 1969 would not have taken place." Mr. Hastings here implies direct rule from Westminster. But there would now be no need for direct rule if in the past the Westminster Parliament had imposed a stricter control on the activities of the Northern Ireland Government. Parliament in Britain has the power, under Clause 75 of the Government of Ireland Act, to exercise full control in Northern Ireland. Even now, at this most dangerous stage, it is refusing fully to exercise that power.

When the Irish Republic was granted independence, the borders of Northern Ireland, which consist of the Six Counties in the northeastern corner of the island, were so arranged and in 1925 so consolidated as to give the Ulster Unionists a safe and permanent majority. By authority of the Government of Ireland Act, the powers transferred to the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland included control of local government and responsibility for internal law and order. Westminster retained control of defense, relations with foreign countries, customs and excise, taxation, matters relating to the Crown, the making of war and peace, foreign trade, etc. Responsibility for most internal affairs was ceded to the Parliament of Northern Ireland, but control over taxation, which is vital to parliamentary power, was retained by Westminster. Stormont has the power to imprison people without trial, to pass laws which contravene normal democracy and which embarrass the British abroad; it has not the power to take a penny off the income tax or to issue a postage stamp.

If the population of Northern Ireland had been overwhelmingly in favor of this system of devolutionary government there would now be no problem, no murders, riots and arson in the streets of Belfast, and no fear of civil war. But one-third of the population, the Catholic minority, resented being separated from the rest of Ireland. They feared—and time has shown how justified their fears have been—that a Unionist government manipulated by the Orange Order was bound to discriminate against them and deny them their civil rights. And that this indeed was the intention of the Unionists was revealed early by James Craig, the first Premier of Northern Ireland, when he declared that he put his membership in the Orange Order before his duties to Parliament and that Northern Ireland had obtained "a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people." Meanwhile his colleagues in the

Unionist Party and in the Stormont cabinet were urging businessmen "not to employ Roman Catholics" on the ground that Catholics were all disloyal. One of the scandals of Northern Ireland and one of the many things the local trade unions ought to be ashamed of is that many local employers still operate an anti-Catholic employment boycott.

That then, is something of the background to the present crisis in Northern Ireland, and it is not a crisis that has developed suddenly within the past two or three years or which has, as some Unionists would allege, been created by an international revolutionary conspiracy. The present period of unrest is similar to many such periods that go back to the mid-19th century. In the two years from 1920 until 1922, at least 450 people, most of them Catholics, were killed in pogroms in the city of Belfast. There had been outbreaks of violence in the 1880s and 1890s, when the Ulster Protestants refused to accept Britain's scheme for Irish self-government. And the evidence, as shown in all the reports of official tribunals of inquiry, is that the Unionists and the Orangemen were in most cases the aggressors. The present crisis started with the murder of two inoffensive Catholic men and an old woman by Unionist terrorists in the summer of 1966. It was then revealed that Protestant militants had formed themselves into an underground, and later illegal, movement which called itself the Ulster Volunteer Force and which claimed to be at war with the Irish Republican Army.

Violence, whether exercised by the UVF or by William Craig when he was Minister of Home Affairs, is and always has been the answer of the Unionists to whatever measures or movements threaten their privileges in Ulster. Craig used the water cannons, the guns and the armor of the police in an attempt to crush the civil rights movement. In the end, of course, he was dismissed from his post and the civil rights movement was vindicated by the Callaghan reforms, by the findings of the Cameron inquiry into the causes of violence, and by the Hunt Committee's recommendations for the disarming and reorganizing of the regular constabulary.

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But that was in the autumn of 1969, when for a brief period the British saw that they had a responsibility to protect the Catholic minority in Ulster and to insure civil rights for everyone. Unfortunately, Mr. Callaghan had no sooner issued his reforms than he and his government began to appease the Unionists. One of the first such acts was to set up, in place of the disbanded B Special constabulary, an Ulster Defense Regiment which many former B Specials joined. The British have not yet learned that the Ulster Unionists feed on appeasement.

After setting up the UDR, Westminster seemingly withdrew from direct involvement in the reform program and appeared content to leave its implementation to Stormont. That is why, nearly two years after Callaghan's intervention, there is another right-wing Unionist government in office, violence has not been brought under control, and the reforms are endangered.

Hence it has become increasingly clear to moderate and law-abiding people in Northern Ireland that Britain's present policy is leading to disaster, and that only the abolition, or at the very least the temporary suspension, of Stormont and the imposition of direct rule from Westminster will really bring the situation under control. But direct rule is being opposed by the entire Unionist Party, by the Orange Order, by the Paisleyites, by that section of the Republican movement which is influenced by the Communists, by the Irish Communist Party itself, by the Northern Ireland Labour Party, and by nearly all the MPs at Stormont. And at the moment the cabinet in London has no enthusiasm for direct rule. British politicians, Labour and Conservative, want the Ulster Unionists to remain in control even if this means sacrifice of the reforms, and even if it leads to civil war in Northern Ireland—as it very possibly could do. □

HIGH COST OF GOOD 'VIBES'

WEAR AND TEAR IN THE COMMUNES

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Now that *The New York Times, Look, Time* and even *Redbook* have discovered communes to be symbols of "the new social rebellion" and "the green revolution," and "a challenge to the survival of the American family," it is time to take a cooler look at what's been going on. To begin with, "leaving home" is an old American institution. Joining the services, going off to college, getting a job, or getting married used to be the ways out for middle-class children who wanted to cut their dependence on their parents. For today's Aquarians, the services have fallen into disrepute, college residences are often considered extensions of parental control, and initial jobs at the non-menial level are rarer than ever for the high school graduate. That leaves marriage. While boys and girls still believe in love, they more than ever balk at being pushed into a legal commitment. Instead they contract informal partnerships, living in a holding pattern with no strings, but with all the intimacy and emotional support of a marriage.

Like-minded couples and a few single friends are the usual founders of an urban commune. However, their experiments in cooperative living are perhaps as much a result of economic necessity as of ideals. And their economic needs are considerable, because they are generally the first generation to grow up in post-World War II suburbia. Suburbia was sold to their parents as an approximation of utopia that combined country living with all the modern conveniences and access to urban facilities. If the location of communes in the San Francisco Bay Area is any indication, the communards also look for country living, but not too far out to miss their own kind of amenities. That would explain why lush, wealthy Marin County is a location more favored than the Oakland black ghetto or the blue-collar areas of Richmond or San Francisco, where housing is cheaper.

If a young couple wishes to live together in Marin, they will find that inexpensive single-family houses have almost disappeared from the market. The era of the inexpensive tract house for the couple just starting out ended in Marin about 1960. New homes are all priced at $30,000 or more. Most new construction has been in apartments, but at least two-thirds of apartment house owners will not rent to couples with children, and probably even fewer will sign a lease with a pair of unmarried long hairs.

Therefore, a common way to meet the housing shortage has been for several couples or singles to pool their incomes and rent large, expensive houses in the better neighborhoods. During World War II, service and war-industry families beat the lack of housing by doubling up, a practice that was countenanced by their neighbors as being part of a temporary wartime situation. Today, it doesn't look as though the housing shortage would be solved by winning a war, and many residents are becoming notably eager to force cooperative living groups out of their single-family districts. Where local politicians have responded, the favorite anti-commune ploy has been that all-around tool of exclusivity, the local zoning ordinance. Many cities around the nation have officially defined what a family is by limiting occupancy of single-family homes to no more than four or five persons unrelated by blood, marriage or legal adoption. It is said that a house occupied by more than four or five people not so related creates fire and health hazards, traffic congestion, crowding and noise that are not present when

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the same house is lived in by a traditional family. While it is almost impossible to enforce an ordinance based on whether or not the occupants of a house are related, it does allow officials to harass communal groups when the neighbors complain.

Thus zoning definitions of this sort strike at the communal life style itself, rather than at the assumption of undesirable behavior or conditions that lies behind the ordinance. The commune people have fought back by seeking to have their groups officially recognized as legal families. At a Marin County public hearing, the American Civil Liberties Union put the issue this way:

> In reviewing similar cases throughout the country, we see these ordinances as vague and of constitutional uncertainty. Under this concept six airline stewardesses or six college students could not occupy a single house of whatever size even if they owned it.
>
> The ordinance is probably discriminatory and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. It deals with social problems through a zoning ordinance. There are other existing methods to solve social problems. It appears to be class legislation aimed at the young and the poor. If the Board [of Supervisors] should pass this, it would create hostility in the young . . . and give rise to a series of test cases.

The first test case to produce a result was that of the *Palo Alto Tenants Union* v. *George Morgan, et al.* Judge Albert C. Wollenberg of the U.S. District Court for Northern California upheld a zoning ordinance defining a "family" as limited to "a group not exceeding four persons living as a single housekeeping unit" in single-family residential zones.

The judge's decision made the following distinction between communal families and traditional families:

> There is a long recognized value in the traditional family relationship which does not attach to the "voluntary family." The traditional family is an institution reinforced by biological and legal ties which are difficult or impossible to sunder. It plays a role in educating and nourishing the young which far from being voluntary is often compulsory. . . .
>
> The communal living groups represented by the plaintiffs share few of the above characteristics. They are voluntary, with fluctuating memberships who have no legal obligations of support or cohabitation. They are in no way subject to the state's vast body of domestic relations law. They do not have the biological links which characterize most families.

The battle line between communards and the Establishment was never more clearly framed than in the judge's choice of words like compulsory roles, legal ties and legal obligations. If there is anything the communal groups seem united in rejecting, it is compulsory roles such as being parent-client to a public school system, or being the sole economic or emotional support of a mate or child. More often than not, the goal of the commune is to replace the legal ties and obligations of the traditional family with something freely given and centered in the group for as long as the individual member of the group wants to belong and contribute. Freedom to split is basic to the creed.

One other important aim found in most communes is withdrawal from participation in consumership, by which they mean the getting and spending that for them characterizes straight society. For many, this means first removing oneself from career-building employment, or in some cases from any kind of steady, confining work. To avoid compromising the ideal of being free to "do your own thing," they support themselves with temporary jobs, craft sales, food stamps and minor marijuana dealing. Ownership of property is another middle-class value that is rejected, not so much for its materialistic connotations but because, like legal marriage, it ties one down. The communards evince a rootlessness and mobility that insure only a short-term commitment to any place or group. For many the style they seek is expressed in *Easy Rider* or *Alice's Restaurant*.

Yet none of this is really new. Some of the best American traditions and folklore are based on the pathfinders, the trappers and the pioneers who settled for a spell and then moved on in search of greener pastures. There are today probably as many elderly wanderers in camper trucks and trailers as there are hippie gypsies in second-hand school busses.

Nor is the ideal of living outside the mass-production system a recent invention. In 1931, Ralph Borsodi urged in *Flight From the City* withdrawal to the countryside in cooperative communities dedicated to domestic production to insure independence from the coils of the urban-industrial system. A number of such communities were established before World War II, the most notable being "The School of Living" in Suffern, N.Y.

Compare the following statement of philosophy from the School's November 1938 *Homestead Bulletin* with the goals of the readers of today's back-to-the-land bible, *The Whole Earth Catalog*:

> To carry out the program of independence and self-sufficiency recommended by the School . . . will require these families to set up new ideals, new standards, new objectives. But these are supremely worth their while, and for most of them represent the only way in which they can become genuinely free and independent—free not only from the financial worries that now trouble most of them but also independent of the changes and the ups and downs of modern industry.
>
> The School believes that every family which produces for its own consumption and serves its own needs as far as it can on a modern organized, labor saving basis *approaches the only proper ideal for the American people—the ideal of the spiritual liberty and the economic self-sufficiency of the family.*

Much of the time this quest for group self-sufficiency in meeting physical and emotional needs means a greater surrender of individuality and a greater break with the world at large than the participants may have anticipated. The odyssey of one couple who found this to be so points up the problem of fitting personal needs into the idealized pattern of group living.

Dennis and Jean are an interracial couple with a new baby. When they first met, they lived together with Jean's people in the Fillmore (San Francisco's Harlem), but the crime, the police, and all the other problems of ghetto life forced them to move to Berkeley. There they lived in an old school bus fixed up with beds and a hot plate, parking it outside a friend's house and using his bathroom.

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But Berkeley got to be too much of a hassle too, what with the rioting, the tear-gassing, and the police sweeps. Their next move was to an old house in a predominantly black section of Oakland. Although they lived there cooperatively with a number of other people, they described it as "just an economic trip, because everyone just took up their own space and didn't really mean anything to each other." So Dennis, Jean and about a dozen friends decided to find a place where they could give one another the love and support they'd missed in their families, schools and jobs.

They wound up in a Mill Valley home in the redwoods. Like many others, they found the "vibes" right in this Marin County community, because it was close in to San Francisco, had a natural setting, and up to then a relatively tolerant attitude toward the long hairs who were settling in. Their commune, a year after its founding, was housed in a four-story hillside building that resembled a ski lodge. The place had twelve rooms, about eighteen residents, including two babies, a few itinerant guests, two dogs and two cats. The monthly rent was $500.

Outside were a number of old cars and two school busses, one of which was Dennis and Jean's original home on wheels. The house was furnished with thrift-shop and homemade furniture. Sleeping bags on top of a dining table were used for the babies' naps. In the kitchen were signs pleading, "Please keep animals in the kitchen or outside" and "Papers only please," above the waste baskets. However the prevailing impression was one of disorder on the brink of chaos.

This commune was seen as a refuge from a world that programs you for joyless work, irrelevant schooling and loveless family life. Here members of the group would be open and loving, and find enlightenment together. Money, however, was a nagging problem. Only four or five members, including Dennis and Jean, brought it in regularly. The phone had been removed only the week before for nonpayment of bills. The previous month Dennis had contributed his whole paycheck to meet the rent. None of the transient guests had been asked to leave, even though they rarely helped with either work or money. The commune also had permanent members who had not worked either for money or around the house; but this was accepted because it was considered more important to "be sympathetic with their problems."

Dennis had been acting as leader since last summer. He still hoped that the commune would be a success—if they could all get it together with Scientology. "Once you get the crap out of your head, you can see what's correct." Then the group could "get a gig together," a means of making money through a business; or maybe they would move to a farm where they could grow their own organic food. (The commune's diet was vegetarian, heavy on beans and rice.)

Jean felt that she and Dennis, who worked in retail stores all week, were carrying too many nonworkers on their backs. She had been raised in a black ghetto and the middle-class affluence the white members were rejecting was foreign to her. On the other hand, she *was* used to overcrowding and poverty, and the daily life of the commune was no joyous new experience. She was especially unhappy about Dennis' practice of casual sex with other girls in the commune.

At last Jean and Dennis decided that their survival as a couple and their baby's welfare were more important than struggling on with the group. They got back into their school bus and parked it at the home of Jean's employer across town. Last fall they drove to Santa Barbara and are living at the home of Dennis' straight sister. He now sells clothes in a trendy shop and shows every sign of becoming a good provider for Jean and the baby, even though at last report they were not married.

The Mill Valley commune still struggles on, led by an older couple who are legally married and veterans of a

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rural commune. Other members appear ready to drop out because of the emotional strain of having to work out "meaningful relationships" with more than a dozen people at once.

Mill Valley will soon have its own anti-commune ordinance and the Nixon Administration has cut off food stamps for households made up of unrelated individuals. Agriculture Department officials concede that the new amendment is intended to deny food stamps to "unrelated youths following the hippie family life style." Many citizens now blame long-haired youth for the rise in welfare costs, crime, drug abuse in the schools, the spread of V.D., and the wave of bombings. The only attempt to pin down the fact behind all this fuss was made recently in Santa Cruz County by Environmental Operations Research of Los Gatos. They set out to find that great beast, "The Undesirable Transient Element." They discovered that:

> From information at hand, it is evident that the long-haired group is the seat of the agitation of the community. It is not quite so evident that this group is the major instigator and perpetrator of all crime. It is perhaps best to say that the group is both the source and focus of the irritation and the fears of the community and indeed "asks" for a lot of the hassling it gets. . . .

What seems to be going on with communes per se is some social experimenting that is neither as new nor as widespread as the media feature writers would have us believe. As for finding a sizable portion of the next generation in communes, with the family a dying institution, the evidence is still lacking.

However, something very ominous that is going on is often overlooked in all the chatter about the sex and psychology of the communes. And that is that the communes are only the most visible focal point for an alarming amount of the kind of hate mongering, stereotyping and discriminatory class legislation that was once reserved for blacks, but is now spreading to "the long hairs" or hippies. Most of them do not live in communes, but like blacks, they're visually different and culturally separate. Anti-loitering laws specifically directed at hippies by the cities of Carmel and San Rafael were recently struck down by the California courts. [See editorial, "Hippies Have Rights," *The Nation*, March 15.] While they were being enforced, U.S. citizens were being rousted from public places because of their appearance. Thoughtful people began to wonder if the Old South's Jim Crow had been resurrected as the totem of law and order in the West. As the polarization and social alienation between long-haired youth and the straight community grows, should the long hairs be relegated to a ghetto of their own? Will they then burn their way toward equal civil rights as the blacks did in Watts, or does someone in power have a better idea? □

THAILAND

Counterinsurgency's Proving Ground

MICHAEL T. KLARE
Mr. Klare is completing a book on counterinsurgency planning in the United States, to be published by Alfred A. Knopf, from which this article is taken.

Every imperium has been faced with the task of finding enough troops to maintain hegemony over colonial territories without straining the financial and manpower resources of the mother country. The occupation army of an imperial power is always outnumbered by the indigenous population of a colony; when a liberation movement has secured the active support of sufficient numbers of people in a country to offset the technological advantage of the occupier, the colonial reign is doomed.

Like all imperial powers of the past, the United States has been obliged to employ mercenaries in order to maintain a favorable balance of power in its colonial territories. In fact, a primary objective of our Asian policy is to install client regimes in each country that can be compelled to supply native troops for America's counterinsurgency. U.S. foreign aid programs, import subsidies and military grants are all designed to create privileged strata that are dependent upon American beneficence for their continued prosperity. Since even when in control of the governmental apparatus the ruling junta is dependent upon U.S. aid to finance development projects and meet military payrolls, Washington can insist that such regimes provide troops for combat against insurgents in their own or neighboring countries.

It is in Thailand that the process of creating a mercenary obligation can perhaps be seen most clearly: between 1949 and 1969, the United States provided Thailand with $2.2 billion in economic and military aid, and invested $702 million in the construction of "Thai" bases. In return, Washington has compelled the Royal Thai Government to supply combat troops for South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and to implement the Pentagon's plans for counterinsurgency in Thailand itself. The broad outlines of American involvement in Thailand were brought out last year in the Symington subcommittee hearings on "U.S. Security Agreements and Commitments Abroad." Documents assembled by the Pacific Studies Center of Palo Alto, Calif., and other anti-war groups make it possible to describe in great detail how the United States assumes responsibility for planning Thailand's war against its own people.

In Southeast Asia, the Department of Defense (DOD) found that the use of indigenous troops in counter-insurgent operations creates problems that do not arise in actions against an external enemy. Since such troops

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are sent against their own countrymen—and often against members of their own village, or even their own family—serious questions of motivation and morale arise. Moreover, the equipment that was initially supplied to our Asian mercenaries—surplus World War II rifles, artillery and vehicles—was not suitable for rigorous use in a jungle or mountain environment. To develop a research and development (R&D) program for our mercenary armies, similar to the extensive R&D program for the American Army, Defense Secretary McNamara in 1961 established an ongoing program of counter-insurgency research known as Project AGILE.

According to a 1967 memorandum issued by the director of Defense Research and Engineering, AGILE is responsible for "research and development supporting the DOD's operations in remote areas, associated with the problems of actual or potential limited or subversive wars involving allied or friendly nations in such areas." AGILE operates on an annual budget of $20 million to $30 million and is administered by the Overseas Defense Research office of the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA). Its task of strengthening the counterinsurgency capabilities of client governments, so as to reduce the need for direct U.S. intervention, is further spelled out in a 1968 ARPA memo:

> [AGILE will] conduct R&D programs for systems to provide improvements in allied nations' capability to meet the threat [of insurgency], and DOD capability to assist them in doing so with the particular goal of minimizing U.S. operational involvement. In particular [it will] concentrate on such areas as counter-infiltration, local security, capability of small units in guerrilla warfare, and specialized systems for specific related purposes. . . .

Historically, AGILE has concentrated on surveillance systems and related "electronic battlefield" devices to reduce the manpower requirements for counter-guerrilla operations in remote areas, and on the modifications of basic infantry equipment for use in extreme environmental situations. It has also developed specialized equipment for non-Western troops when the standard G.I. type was inappropriate or inadequate. In the area of behavioral research, AGILE has sponsored research on ethnic minorities thought to be potential sources of mercenaries (e.g., the Montagnards of South Vietnam), and on the development of strategic doctrine for the armies of client governments.

Because of its responsibilities, AGILE is one of the few Defense R&D organizations authorized to establish research programs abroad. At present, the project maintains field offices in Vietnam, Korea, Thailand and Iran. At the same time that the AGILE field office was opened in Saigon, another AGILE office—the Research and Development Field Unit—Thailand (RDFU-T)—was activated in Bangkok. When established in the early 1960s, the two AGILE units were described by *Aviation Week and Space Technology* as follows:

> Vietnam is considered the "quick fix" area. ARPA approaches research problems here from a viewpoint of what it can do on an immediate basis, and solely for this country.
>
> Thailand is used to define and proof-test longer-term projects, not only for this country, but for others which are located near the electromagnetic equator.

Thailand, in other words, was to be the sanctuary in which AGILE's scientists could develop weapons and strategies for Vietnamese-type wars without threat of interference from the local population. Thailand's environment, explained AGILE spokesman, Gen. Robert H. Wienecke, "is similar to Vietnam's—but nobody's shooting at you."

In 1965, Thailand ceased to be a peaceful sanctuary when shooting broke out in the impoverished northeast. Under the banner of the Thai Patriotic Front, a small but tough insurgent organization began attacking police posts and conducting propaganda meetings in rural villages. Two years later, Meo tribesmen in the northern provinces rebelled against the Thai Government's attempt to change their way of life (which included the cultivation of opium poppy). At the same time, the Malayan rebels living in the southernmost provinces of Thailand —remnants of the Malayan Races Liberation Army which had fought the British for twelve years—began expanding their guerrilla organization and undermining government control of the border area. These developments forced the Pentagon to reconsider the function of its Bangkok facility: no longer isolated from the dynamics of revolutionary conflict, AGILE was instructed to plan the counterinsurgency of the Royal Thai Government's "Communist Suppression Operations Command."

When this venture got under way in 1966, the situation looked particularly propitious to Pentagon analysts: the insurgent zones were restricted to well-defined geographic areas, and the insurgent forces limited to a few hundred poorly armed guerrillas. And whereas in Vietnam America's earliest strategies of counter-insurgency had been based on an inadequate and inaccurate knowledge of local conditions, AGILE had accumulated in Thailand a "data base" of environmental and behavioral information which theoretically should have obviated costly mistakes and delays. Since AGILE enjoyed close cooperation with the Royal Thai military, many Pentagon officials believed that Thailand would be a "showplace" for counterinsurgency planning, and a model for similar endeavors elsewhere. This confidence can be discerned in the 1967 Congressional testimony of Charles M. Herzfeld, then head of ARPA:

> Last year ARPA initiated a major R&D program to assist the Royal Thai Government and the U.S. Mission in Thailand in their effort to suppress the growing Communist insurgency in that country's northeast provinces. Under the rural security systems program, ARPA will marshall the R&D community to: (a) gather and collate critical information on the local geography, the way of life of the local people, and on their attitudes toward the Government; (b) set up and help maintain current data files on insurgent incidents and operations, and on the many Government programs and activities undertaken for counterinsurgency purposes in the northeast; and (c) provide assistance in analyzing the effectiveness of various counterinsurgency programs. . . . *This program will mark the first time that R&D has been given a major role in supporting a counterinsurgency in a comprehensive way, from the earliest stages of the conflict.* (Emphasis added.)

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Trog—London Daily Mail

"Worried? Sure They're Worried. Didn't We Teach Them Everything We Know?"

To carry out this ambitious program the AGILE office in Thailand received an annual budget of $10 million and a staff of some 150 engineers, anthropologists, sociologists, economists and specialists in various military fields. Some military personnel are attached to the project, but a majority of the staff are civilian researchers supplied by the RAND Corporation, Research Analysis Corporation, Stanford Research Institute, and other AGILE contractors. Since one of AGILE's functions is to develop an indigenous research capability, the Bangkok office is known as the Joint Thai-U.S. Military Research and Development Center (MRDC), and is headed by a Thai officer.

Most AGILE projects in Thailand were designed to gather the vast quantities of geographical, environmental, logistical and political data required to plan government counterinsurgency. One begins to appreciate the scope of this effort by surveying a list of representative Project AGILE studies:

The Strategic Setting for Conflict in South Thailand, by Russell F. Rhyne; the Stanford Research Institute, 1965. (Confidential).

Supply Requirements for Royal Thai Government Deployment in Advanced Insurgency in Northeast Thailand, by Angelo Giarratana; the Research Analysis Corporation, 1965. (Confidential).

Quick Gaming Study of Force Objectives for the Royal Thai Army, by Dorothy K. Clark and Charles V. Krebs; the Research Analysis Corporation, 1964. (Secret).

Border Patrol Police Capabilities and Potentials for Counterinsurgency in Thailand, by Dorothy K. Clark and Warren B. Stevens; the Research Analysis Corporation, 1965. (Confidential).

Counterinsurgency Communications Requirements in Thailand, by York Lucci; the Stanford Research Institute, 1966. (Confidential).

Preparation of these studies constitutes the first step in the production of strategic war plans. Areas in which AGILE planning was concentrated include:

¶*Jungle Communications* (Project SEACORE): One of AGILE's first major tasks was to develop lightweight radios suitable for use in the jungles of Southeast Asia. While the office in Vietnam was anxious to modify existing equipment for immediate use, the Thai office was told to conduct basic research on jungle communications in order to provide data for the design of entirely new radios. The primary contractors for this work, known as Project SEACORE (South East Asia COmmunications REsearch), were the Atlantic Research Corporation and the Stanford Research Institute. To determine the effects of the tropical environment on radio signals, AGILE scientists established a test site at Pak Chong, in the Khao Yai National Park northeast of Bangkok. Transmission losses at various frequencies and with different antenna configurations were calculated at this site and compared with readings for open terrain, to determine the optimum combination of performance characteristics. According to ARPA director Herzfeld, the reports issued by SEACORE are now being used "by the scientific-industrial-government community in the design and development of new military communication equipment."

¶*Off-the-Road Mobility*: The omnipresent mud of Southeast Asia has often been used as a metaphor for American frustration at the lack of progress in the war. David Halberstam even named his critical account of U.S. policy in Vietnam *The Making of a Quagmire.* The

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metaphor is certainly appropriate: the United States has the most mechanized army in history, but its many motorized vehicles provide no advantage if they become immobilized as soon as they leave paved roads. Accordingly, a major responsibility of AGILE has been to collect data on soil conditions, vegetation, rainfall and other factors affecting "off-the-road mobility." Scientists from the Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station collected "soil trafficability data" at 846 sites in Thailand. This information was compared with the soil strength requirements of different vehicles in order to develop a scheme for predicting successful operations over a given soil type, topography and degree of wetness. In a related study, AGILE scientists recorded the dimensions of 394 rice fields in order to develop designs for vehicles that could cross them. In "Rice Field Dimensions Affecting Mobility in Thailand," AGILE reported that vehicles able to negotiate a 22-inch-high paddy dike can cross 95 per cent of the dikes encountered in Thailand.

¶*Village Information Systems* (VIST): When the insurgent movement first made its appearance in the northeastern provinces of Thailand, U.S. counterinsurgency planners soon discovered that the central government in Bangkok knew next to nothing about the living conditions, grievances and social structure of the villages in that region. Since the Americans rightfully maintained that to beat the guerrillas it would be necessary to deny them access to the resources of these villages, there arose an immediate need for quantities of basic data on village characteristics. In 1965, AGILE scientists completed a "Village Security Pilot Study" for northeast Thailand, in which a system was developed to maintain in a "village data base" information on the location, size, geometry, economy, leadership, population characteristics, and proximity to police posts and military bases of every village in the region. Recognizing that such vast amounts of information could not be processed by conventional methods, ARPA awarded the Stanford Research Institute a multimillion-dollar contract to design a computerized "Village Information System" (VIST). According to SRI president Charles Anderson, the VIST program will assist the Thai Government in dealing with "civil disorder" and "subversive activity," as well as other problems peculiar to a peasant society.

¶*Police Capabilities*: In Thailand, the major responsibility for low-level counterinsurgency is shared by the Provincial Police and the Border Patrol Police—both of which are paramilitary organizations outfitted with helicopters, mortars, machine guns and other commodities provided by the Office of Public Safety of the U.S. Agency for International Development. Provincial Police (PP) units are deployed in village and district police posts throughout the guerrilla-infested regions; the Border Patrol Police (BPP), as one would expect, are concentrated particularly along Thailand's borders with Laos and Malaysia, and are entrusted with preventing arms and other supplies from reaching Thai guerrillas from the outside.

Since the undermanned PP and BPP are dispersed in relatively small units over an enormous area, U.S. counterinsurgency planners recognized that their effectiveness would be dependent to a considerable extent upon rapid communications on the matter of reinforcements between outpost and headquarters. Consequently, AGILE commissioned the Stanford Research Institute to study existing police communications in Thailand and to make recommendations for their improvement and expansion. SRI first constructed mathematical models to estimate the demands that would be placed on existing communications systems; in one such study, "Communications Traffic Requirements to Support Counterinsurgency Operations Against Medium-Level Insurgency in Thailand," SRI researcher Angelo Gualtieri concluded that "both the PP and the BPP communications systems would need substantial enlargement, in terms of message-carrying capacity, to be responsive to the needs of the postulated conditions." Responsibility for expanding the two systems was delegated to the Office of Public Safety, which has been spending more than $10 million a year to upgrade Thai police capabilities.

¶*Insurgent Logistics*: When the guerrilla war ended in Malaya in 1960, several thousand veterans of the Malayan Races Liberation Army established a chain of bases along the Thailand-Malaysia border. In this inaccessible region, the guerrillas preserved intact their political apparatus and began to recruit followers from the Chinese and Moslem minority groups of Southern Thailand. Although not initially considered a threat to Thai security, this "Communist-Terrorist" (C-T) movement became in 1965 the subject of an intensive AGILE study by Stanford Research Institute personnel. The SRI project was apparently designed to develop information for future counterinsurgency against both these particular guerrillas and similar groups that might appear elsewhere in Asia. The focus of the study was insurgent food production, logistics, stockpiling, and other activities related to the survival of a guerrilla movement. The intention was to devise methods for destroying the guerrilla supply system; a report on the "Communist-Terrorist Logistics Systems—Southern Thailand" notes: ". . . the insurgent logistics system is still one of the most vulnerable parts of the C-T operation, and interdiction of this system appears as likely to be a very effective operational means of forcing the C-T's out of their jungle camps into the open where security forces may engage them on favorable terms." In Vietnam, "interdiction" has come to mean saturation bombing, napalming, crop destruction, and all other forms of "firepower" used to make the pursuit of normal life impossible in rebel areas; "interdiction" has also been used to justify the devastation of Laos and Cambodia. SRI's Thailand studies were explicitly designed to provide models for interdiction operations against any insurgent movement; whether or not they will also be put to use in Thailand remains to be seen.

These studies, and others conducted by Project AGILE, constitute the basic input for strategic war plans. Commenting on AGILE's Thailand operations in 1966, *Technology Week* stated that "the collection of a mass of environmental and behavioral data on Thailand will put the U.S. in a much more knowledgeable position about that country, in contrast to our early understanding of conditions and customs in Vietnam, *should large-scale U.S. military intervention in Thailand ever be called for.*"

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(Emphasis added.) As it turned out, the American intervention in Thailand, when it did occur, did not involve combat troops but the corps of military advisers, Special Forces instructors, logistics and communications personnel, and other specialists needed to manage a mercenary army in the field. While most of the 42,000 American troops in Thailand are committed to the air war against Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian insurgents, at least one-third are involved in programs designed to upgrade the internal security capabilities of the Royal Thai Army. "After six centuries of agilely avoiding Asian and European imperialism," Zalin B. Grant wrote in 1969, "the Thais now nervously find themselves waist-deep in the big muddy of an uncertain American foreign policy. . . . For the past seven years the U.S. military has wormed its way into key areas of the Thai infrastructure —with men and money." Some 17,000 Americans, according to Grant, were involved in military development projects in Thailand. When one remembers that no U.S. estimate of guerrilla strength in Thailand has ever placed the figure above 5,000 men, the massive scale of the U.S. "advisory" intervention becomes even more pronounced.

In planning the Royal Thai Government's counterinsurgency campaign, AGILE's strategists refined many practices and tactics that had already been tested in Vietnam. ARPA director Herzfeld told the House Appropriations Committee in 1967 that U.S. military aid in Thailand "takes full advantage of what the Defense Department has learned in Vietnam." On the basis of these "lessons learned," the United States introduced the following programs in Thailand:

¶Construction of 1,000 new police stations in frontier areas, each to be manned by a least twenty members of the Provincial Police or the Border Patrol Police. Before being sent to guerrilla areas, these men receive six weeks of counterinsurgency training provided by U.S. Special Forces instructors at the Thai National Police Training Center at Hua Hin and at provincial training schools. Police radios, weapons and vehicles are all provided by the Office of Public Safety (AID).

¶Deployment of U.S. Army Engineer construction battalions in sensitive areas to build roads, wells and irrigation canals as part of the military civic action program of the Royal Thai Army. Recognizing that "awareness and understanding on the part of Thai officials of the needs and aspirations of rural people . . . are essential to the solution of Thailand's security problem," AID provides funds, equipment and training to the RTA Mobile Development Units which carry out civic action projects in rural areas.

¶Establishment of a 1,000-man elite counter-guerrilla unit, known as the Thai Special Forces Group. The men in this unit all receive counterinsurgency training at the U.S. Special Forces training center at Lopburi. According to the Washington *Star*, American "Green Berets" regularly accompany Thai Special Forces units on training exercises in guerrilla-infested areas.

¶Augmentation of the U.S. Military Assistance Program (MAP) in order to provide the "entire Thai army of slightly more than 100,000 men with M-16s, as well as the latest machine guns, radios, and other standard light equipment." For the past several years, MAP aid to Thailand has exceeded $75 million annually, and it is expected to go higher in the 1970s. According to *Army Digest*, recent new equipment delivered to the Thai military "includes M-41 tanks, M-16 rifles, M-60 machine-guns, M-79 grenade launchers, the VRC-12 family of radios, engineer construction equipment and OH-13 and UH-1H helicopters."

Despite all these measures, U.S. counterinsurgency seems no more successful in Thailand than it was in neighboring Vietnam. At the 14th annual meeting of SEATO, held in Bangkok in September 1968, the Secretary General, Lieut. Gen. Jésus M. Vargas of the Philippines, reported that Thai insurgency and terrorism were on the increase. Seven months later, *New York Times* correspondent John Stirling reported: "A revolt among the Meo tribesmen of Thailand that flared up last November is still smoldering in the hills of the Phetchabun range extending from northeast Thailand into Laos." A police official interviewed by Stirling indicated that "the situation was still grave in Nan Loei and Phitsanulok Provinces," and that "police reinforcements could not be withdrawn." In November 1969, the U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, Leonard Unger, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that insurgent activity was increasing in all regions except the northeast, where U.S. counterinsurgency has been concentrated. An even gloomier picture was painted at the January meeting of the International Congress of Orientalists, where Prof. Richard C. Butwell of American University in Washington, D.C. pointed to "low-level but escalating insurgencies" along the northern, northeastern and southern borders of Thailand as part of a general pattern of rising revolutionary violence in Southeast Asia.

Inasmuch as the United States has been spending more than $100 million a year for counterinsurgency programs in Thailand since 1965 without measurable results, it is easy to understand why the Advanced Research Projects Agency has lost its optimism concerning the Project AGILE effort in that country. Thus, when the House Appropriations Committee challenged the usefulness of AGILE's Thailand studies, the present head of ARPA, Dr. Eberhardt Rechtin, reported that "the results of past research have been mixed, with some projects (border zone security) paying off very well and the results of others (village security) not being implemented for a variety of nontechnical [i.e., political] reasons." At the present level of insurgency, Rechtin explained, "the core of the problem is the relationship of the Royal Thai Government to its people." While of primary concern to the Ambassador and his staff, "this government-to-people relationship is inherently so political that it has proven generally impractical as a field of ARPA research producing implemented results." As a result, ARPA spending in Thailand was cut back from $10 million in fiscal 1969 to $4 million in 1970, and the emphasis changed from the "inherently political" aspects of counterrevolution to tried-and-true hardware items like surveillance and detection.

So much for the vision of Thailand as a "model counterinsurgency." □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Another of God's Englishmen

THE SADDEST STORY: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford. *By Arthur Mizener. World Publishing Co. 616 pp. $20.*

GEORGE WICKES
Mr. Wickes's latest book is Americans in Paris (*Doubleday*).

Ford Madox Ford is the great neglected writer of the century. Two of his novels must be ranked with the best fiction produced in the decades before and after the Great War, or for that matter since 1900. His literary memoirs give a most readable account of the writers he knew almost from the cradle and, though highly unreliable, convey a vivid sense of these writers as living, breathing men and women. His autobiographies are even more unreliable and even more delightful, as entertaining as the best conversation. Even if he had never written a line, Ford should still be remembered, in the words of Graham Greene, as "the best literary editor England has ever had."

Ford was a real professional, a man of letters who worked hard all his life, wrote with amazing speed and facility, often under the most trying circumstances, and turned out a total of eighty-one books in his 66 years. His verse and most of his thirty-two novels now seem dated, and no doubt he wrote too much. That is one reason for his being neglected. Another may be his incurable "impressionism," his indifference to accuracy, which seems to irritate many literary historians now, as it infuriated his fellow writers when he published his highly "improved" reminiscences. Ford was a raconteur and a mythomaniac. All novelists are to some degree, though most of them usually distinguish fact from invention in their more sober moments. Apparently Ford was constitutionally incapable of doing so, a pathological fictionalizer of his own experience.

He was not only a good storyteller, he had plenty of good stories to tell. He was born into a pre-Raphaelite family, surrounded by Rossetti cousins, and after his father's death he was raised by his grandfather, the painter Ford Madox Brown. As a young intellectual about town he soon made his way in the London literary world. His first book, a fairy tale, was published when he was 18. When only 24 he began collaborating with Joseph Conrad, fourteen years his senior and already an established writer. As editor of the *English Review*, Ford "discovered" D. H. Lawrence and Norman Douglas and published the best English writers of his time. He taught Ezra Pound something about poetry at the time Pound was teaching Yeats something about poetry.

After publishing eighteen novels Ford sat down to write what he called his first serious work of fiction, *The Good Soldier*. Shortly after its appearance, he was commissioned in the British Army, though well into his 40s, served in France during the war and gave up writing for five years.

In the twenties he moved to France, adopted Provence as his home, joined the *avant-garde* in Paris, and edited the *Transatlantic Review*, which published Hemingway, Gertrude Stein and the first installment of Joyce's "Work in Progress" —so christened by Ford and so entitled until its publication fifteen years later as *Finnegans Wake*. While editing the *Transatlantic Review*, Ford wrote his memoir of Joseph Conrad in two months, and much of the second volume, *No More Parades*, of his Tietjens tetralogy. The four novels of this great work appeared within the space of four years.

During the thirties he shunted back and forth across the Atlantic, still grinding out books despite his failing health. He found new disciples in the Allen Tates and Robert Lowell and in his final incarnation became, most improbably, a professor of literature at a tiny Midwestern college.

This brief summary covers only the salient facts of his literary life without taking into account the very complicated personal affairs which he transmuted into fiction: one legal and one bigamous marriage, two liaisons that lasted long enough to be counted as common-law marriages, and a number of passing affairs. The neglect Ford suffers from has sometimes been attributed to his untidy private life, but while there may have been some connection in his lifetime, no one today can take such an explanation seriously.

Ford's reputation has been in partial eclipse ever since his death in 1939, while some of his contemporaries —Conrad, Lawrence and Joyce—have come into the full blaze of recognition, and others—Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy —faded into relative obscurity. The Ford boom should have started in 1950 when Knopf brought together the Tietjens tetralogy in one volume as *Parade's End*, with an excellent introduction by Robie Macauley. But the boom never got under way. In the sixties, eight or nine critical studies of Ford appeared, all of them fairly competent, none sufficiently magisterial to establish Ford in his proper place. There were first-rate critical articles on Ford, such as those of Mark Schorer and R. P. Blackmur; what was lacking was a first-rate book. When Arthur Mizener announced that he was undertaking a biography of Ford, it appeared that Ford would get his due at last. Unfortunately *The Saddest Story* (after Ford's original title for *The Good Soldier*) is not quite the book that was needed. It is at once too much and not quite enough.

Like many of the academic biographies that have appeared in recent years, this one carries a crushing burden of fact and documentation: 300,000 words, including 80 pages of notes. And buried underneath this midden of detail is the very life it was supposed to reveal. One sympathizes with the scrupulous biographer who has so painstakingly gathered all this information, but one also wonders who cares to read all about Ford's business arrangements, endless financial complications, and quarrels with agents and publishers. Even the specialist who will find Mizener's work useful is likely to be numbed by such thoroughness.

Most of these monumental, scholarly biographies are literally unreadable, in the sense that no one can sit down and read them consecutively. They are really encyclopedias for scholarly reference. B. L. Reid's biography of John Quinn, for instance, is a valuable archive in which the man disappears from sight. Carlos Baker's biography of Hemingway conscientiously plods through the events of his life without ever revealing the man's vital paradoxes or even divulging what his biographer thinks of him. The scholar's compulsion to be meticulous, objective and definitive often ends up producing a quarry rather than a sculpture.

This is being hard on Mizener, who must be given credit for carving a recognizable human portrait. But he could have given the portrait greater relief by

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suppressing some of the accumulated debris. *The Saddest Story* suffers by comparison with his biography of Scott Fitzgerald, with its sustained psychological insight and narrative momentum. And there is something ironic in the fact that Mizener errs in the opposite direction from Ford, whose biographies were unscholarly yet enlightening and invariably good reading. "Scholarship," Mizener quotes Ford as saying, "is a quality for which I have always had great contempt. . . . The best scholar of his day would have interrupted and destroyed the flow of the Sermon on the Mount by cavilling at the Preacher's use of the enclitic *de*. . . ." And while Mizener properly provides a corrective to this view, the flow of his own prose is clogged with quotations and brackets, the flow of his narrative with detail. Witness this paragraph:

> In June Borys Conrad fell ill at Montpellier, and Ford and Elsie at once offered to go out to help. Conrad replied, "With our greatest love and thanks for your touching offer; we should not ask you to come unless things were much worse. . . . One has complete faith in you and Ford." In July Alston Rivers published *From Inland*; apart from half-a-dozen new poems, this volume was a selection from Ford's earlier volumes, made by Edward Garnett. On September 6, 1907, Methuen published *An English Girl*, the first of the three Ford novels they would do. The title was probably theirs; Ford had called the novel *The Reformers*, which gives a much better idea of it: "We're going out [to America] as reformers," the young American hero says to the English heroine.

Mizener's narrative is also interrupted by chapters of critical analysis, and more criticism has been relegated to the long appendix. Actually, this material belongs in another book. In fact the entire work might better have been divided into three parts: Volume I, documentation; Volume II, literary criticism; Volume III, a selective biography. When the third book has been disengaged from the other two we have the heart of *The Saddest Story*. And a wonderful story it is, a sad, often hilarious comedy about a preposterous character.

Mizener brings out all the contradictions in Ford Madox Ford, as he was and as he liked to imagine himself. A cross between the philandering hero and the bumbling narrator of *The Good Soldier*, he fancied himself, like Christopher Tietjens of *Parade's End*, a model of feudal chivalry, an Anglican saint and a Tory squire, living in a cottage with a pregnant mistress because he was too much a gentleman to divorce his vindictive wife. The facts Mizener reveals are even more fantastic; Ford's original wife was suing Violet Hunt for misrepresenting herself as his second wife years after Ford had left Violet Hunt and taken up with Stella Bowen.

Ford, as Mizener points out, wanted both romantic excitement and domestic tranquillity. And despite the incredible entanglements he got into, he was not so much interested in passion as in sympathetic feminine company. Yet only in his last two decades did he find the understanding and sympathy he wanted, with Stella Bowen in the twenties and Janice Biala in the thirties.

Mizener points out other paradoxes in Ford's character. His first wife characterized him as "a man capable at any moment of being wholly irresponsible in the most convincing way," yet Ezra Pound, who had known him well for forty years, summed him up as "au fond a serious character," as compared with Joyce, Eliot and Yeats. Despite his phlegmatic exterior, Ford fluctuated between the wildest optimism and the blackest despair, both equally unfounded, and suffered a series of nervous breakdowns, one of which lasted three years.

His literary life is full of similar contradictions. Ford thought of himself as an Edwardian gentleman, a member of the ruling class, yet he led a totally unconventional bohemian life. He was a most gregarious man, while trying to pursue the most solitary trade. He wanted to discover geniuses and be one himself, to appeal to the common reader while using the techniques of the *avant-garde*, to write great books that would be best-sellers.

He loved the role of the master surrounded by young disciples, yet many of those he encouraged—Hemingway most conspicuous among them—treated him shabbily. He loved friends and parties, but sooner or later his friends and guests ended up quarreling with him. Ford himself was a generous, amiable man. What usually exasperated his friends and fellow writers was his unabashed, inveterate, Falstaffian mythomania.

Mizener not only provides a full-length portrait but sets the record straight on Ford's life and works. He demonstrates, for instance, that Ford's acquaintance with Henry James was more casual than Ford's memoirs of James suggest; that his collaboration with Conrad on the other hand was much more protracted and extensive than had previously been suspected; that the *Transatlantic Review* escaped beyond Ford's control and became a very different magazine from the one he had conceived. And this biography is after all the best book that has been written on Ford, the one that most clearly defines his role in the world of letters. Its faults are easily outweighed by its many excellences. □

As We Were Losing China

STILWELL AND THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN CHINA, 1911-45. *By Barbara W. Tuchman. The Macmillan Co. 621 pp. $10.*

ALLEN S. WHITING
Mr. Whiting teaches political science at the University of Michigan and was Deputy Consul General in Hongkong, 1966-8.

This is the most interesting and informative book on U.S.-China relations to appear since World War II. While essentially limited to the war's time and events, its implications transcend both the subject of its attention, "Vinegar Joe" Stilwell, and the period under examination. It is the record of China's agony under the twin scourges of Japanese invasion and Nationalist ineptitude. It is the sad story of American idealism and naïveté in attempting to fashion a cooperative alliance with Chiang Kai-shek on the basis of material aid, missionary zeal and military logic. And like Mrs. Tuchman's renowned works on World War I, it represents prodigious labor in unexplored archives. Her excellent style converts the documents into a brilliant, lucid and authentic account of a highly complicated subject that has too long lain buried under the political polemics of "how China was lost."

This is much more than the familiar story of Stilwell's futile feuds with the "G-mo," Chennault, the British and Washington. Without disguising his "warts and all" acerbity which at times bordered on vindictiveness, Mrs. Tuchman proves beyond doubt that while a more tactful personality would have produced surface harmony in Sino-American relations, only hard bargaining through the leverage of military and economic assistance might have made Chiang responsive to the needs of China and its allies. Even this proposition remains doubtful, however, as she implies in her account of Chiang's Byzantine maneuvers among immediate and distant relatives, political cronies and military warlords, highlighted by an abortive "200 Generals" plot to overthrow him.

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History need not, but it *can* repeat itself. Powerful parallels emerge between President Roosevelt's effort to reform Chiang's rule in the face of ignorance at the top and intrigue among his wife and in-laws (the Kungs and Soongs), and the later attempts by President Kennedy to extricate Diem from the influence of brothers and in-laws (the Nhus), so as to meet the challenge of the NLF. The challenge facing Chiang, in the person of Mao Tse-tung and his ideological-organizational system, was of course far greater. While the Chinese Communists remain in the wings of Mrs. Tuchman's drama, she does weave into her narrative assessments of Yenan and the CCP contained in trenchant—and, as appeared later, prescient—foreign-service reports by John Stewart Service, John Paton Davies and Ambassador Clarence Gauss. But the lessons that might have been drawn from these reports were neutralized by the American penchant to personalize politics; the resulting public relations spotlight on Chiang facilitated his blackmailing Washington for continued support against the threat of "China's collapse," despite his flat refusal to place his house in order, either to meet wartime exigencies or to anticipate postwar needs.

Chiang saw his priorities in conformity with his Whampoa Military Academy background and the warlord politics of the twenties and thirties. By husbanding his forces and American military aid during the war he hoped to be able to confront and perhaps crush, his Communist opponents after the war. In contrast, Mao saw the possibility of mobilizing popular support during the war by drumming up Nationalist fervor against the Japanese, manifested in guerrilla warfare. Moreover, he anticipated the possibility of later exploiting Chiang's myopia by offering a comprehensive political system addressed to the particular wants of key groups ignored and impoverished by the Chungking regime, whether intellectuals, students, salaried staffs, soldiers or peasants.

Eschewing the temptation to play Greek chorus, Mrs. Tuchman chronicles in dispassionate prose the dreary story of how the Nationalists dug their own political graves. But if there is no chorus, there is nonetheless the sense of tragedy, with the actors playing their predestined roles. Hope never leaps high for Stilwell, much less for the prospects of U.S. policy.

However, as prologue to an even more dramatic tragedy, the abortive postwar mission of Gen. George C. Marshall to mediate between Communists and Nationalists, the book raises but does not answer some fascinating questions. Marshall himself remains something of a shadow figure though his motives and insights are consistently put in a favorable light. His subsequent identification with a diplomatic debacle that should have seemed a foregone conclusion to any person with his experience and information remains almost wholly inexplicable, except in terms of the soldier's duty to

BLUES FOR NECHAIEV

in your cell they say
you sold us out listing
your comrades for the czar's politzei

and claimed it was in the service
of the revolution

well the revolution came
didn't it

not more than fifty years later

this is for the quick
and the dead on west eleventh street

Jerrold Greenberg

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follow his orders. More immediately relevant to the book is the fact that Marshall stubbornly defended Stilwell against the assaults of critics and the machinations of enemies despite his gross errors of judgment and behavior. I wonder if this reflects Marshall's loyalty to principle and to Stilwell personally as the author implies, or if a better explanation lies behind the secrecy, decorum and public impassivity with which the military hierarchy customarily conceals internal rivalries and bureaucratic maneuvering.

Even in treating her central figure Mrs. Tuchman stops short of plumbing the psychology that drove Stilwell to the point of collapse and prevented him from advancing his interests or his cause by positive rather than negative politics. Thus in his critical meeting with Roosevelt, Stilwell muffed the opportunity to present his case in face-to-face conversation although he had fought for it in his cables and leaked it to correspondents for months. In short, the amateur analyst longs for more psychological explanation than the author provides. Yet Mrs. Tuchman is justified in avoiding this area, which calls for both skills and evidence that are, strictly speaking, outside the province of the historian.

If the author refuses to tread on unsure ground, she marches forward boldly into the intricacies of Chinese politics and society. Her years as a correspondent during the Japanese invasion of China in the mid-thirties and her World War II experience on the Far Eastern desk of the Office of War Information stand her in good stead here. No China specialist is likely to dispute her lucid exposition of the turbulence and chaos that marked this period, nor will the more general reader be lost in Sinological details. After twenty years of isolation from the mainland and thirty years of simplistic imagery surrounding the "great power" that "fell to communism," this book restores a sense of reality to the debate, helping us understand how inevitable was the entry of the world's oldest continuous civilization into the modern world under conditions of social turmoil.

Stilwell's great strength lay in his ability to sense China's capacity for survival and growth, given proper leadership. Where men of lesser dedication would have washed their hands of the seemingly impossible mess provoked by Chiang's mismanagement of manpower, he persisted in forging a Chinese army capable of reconquering Burma, something few Americans and no Britons believed possible. Whatever he lacked at the level of summit diplomacy he more than made up for in his incredibly arduous struggle against the Japanese, the jungle and the labyrinthine chain of command and control which reached around the world from New Delhi to London and Washington. Mrs. Tuchman's ability to juggle the conflicting demands of the European and Pacific theatres and the competing politics of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill provides an invaluable perspective with which to view the defeats and the few victories resulting from Stilwell's effort in Burma.

Within this larger frame, of course, the reader cannot help but ask: is all this important? If the Burma campaign proved essentially irrelevant to the Pacific struggle, and if the Soviet intervention and American atomic bombs ended the war without the need for mounting a major campaign in China, why pour so much time and effort into reconstructing Stilwell's exercise in futility? Beyond these military questions, as Mrs. Tuchman admits in her final paragraph, "Stilwell's mission was America's supreme try in China. . . . Yet the mission failed in its ultimate purpose because the goal was unachievable. . . . In the end China went her own way as if the Americans had never come."

At the personal level, Stilwell's ethics and character justify this study of persistence in the face of adversity. Beyond

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this, however, it is precisely because the failure of Stilwell's mission was more than personal that it has an importance for our time. The author avoids drawing the analogy, but no reader today can be unmindful of the persistent American impulse to arrange Asian affairs according to our perception of Asian as well as American interests. We are as determined to shape the political systems of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam today as we were to change China in World War II. We assume the "global responsibility" for bringing "peace and stability" to governments throughout Southeast Asia with whatever military, political or economic means are at our disposal. We engage in "nation building" and "economic development" wherever "Communist insurgency" can be found. Most of the time our positive influence is marginal and our damage to local institutions minimal. When we do fail in a major way, as in South Vietnam, we blame it on "lack of local leadership" or search for new techniques to meet old problems.

Mrs. Tuchman's careful study, however, should remind us of how much harm and how little good can come of using our material power to affect the values and institutions of other cultures. Where societies, if not political systems, have existed for generations with internal codes that are so wholly different from our own, we cannot expect to command the access, the knowledge, or the skills to reshape behavior according to our own likes. Despite a century of interaction with China, manifested in thousands of unofficial as well as official contacts, we repeatedly made the wrong judgments and missed the emerging leader of the time, whether Sun Yat-sen or Mao Tse-tung. Mrs. Tuchman's title appropriately gives us the clue to the real value of this book, linking the story of Stilwell to "the American experience in China." And, one might add, our experience in South Vietnam. □

A Warm Cold Fish

PROSPER MERIMEE. *By A. W. Raitt. Charles Scribner's Sons. 453 pp. $15.*

JACQUES BARZUN
Mr. Barzun, a historian and man of letters, has served as Dean of Faculties and Provost, and now holds the post of university professor, at Columbia.

Anyone who at this late date wants evidence that "the Romantics" were not a homogeneous group of mad or consumptive weeping willows will find it in this exhaustive but agreeable book about Mérimée. The man whose name calls up the story of Carmen and little else—for classes in French have given up working their painful way through "Mateo Falcone"—was undoubtedly a Romanticist. He was perhaps the angriest and toughest of that little band of glorious boys of 1830, as Henley called them, who put an end in France to the outworn formulas of classicism and the unpopular Bourbons, all at the same time.

But under his cold, cynical exterior, his assumed pose of the imperturbable English dandy, his alternation of contemptuous silence in society with a compulsion to shock by means of obscene anecdotes, Mérimée concealed an uncommon generosity, high ethical principles, and a sensitiveness that twisted his life out of its conceivable path. The mixture also introduced into his art a disharmony which still alienates many readers, whether they approach his works in French or even the best English translations.

At first one might suppose that the flaw perceived was lack of courage. When one compares Mérimée with Stendhal, who was long his intimate friend, one notes the difference between the latter's intellectual irony linked with true passion and the former's icy aridity, and one imputes this chilling attribute to a want of feeling—until feeling comes out in the tales as the melodrama of misplaced violence or cruelty. Both as man and artist, Mérimée was manifestly courageous; and he was anything but devoid of feeling. The reason his spirit is often oppressive is that he is always repressing himself. In his best stories and plays the art arises from the presence of a subject suited to this particular conflict and capable of being treated with a technique superbly paralleling this extreme degree of self-consciousness.

Mr. Raitt's biography makes this central point luminously clear, both in discussing the works and in depicting the life and the character. The description of Mérimée's relations with women is especially skillful, at once searching and sympathetic. Indeed, the account of Mérimée's long-drawn-out attachment to the one woman among the many he chose who was a heartless coquette and self-seeker is heart-rending, and this in a way its chief actor would have approved: cool precision, no coloring added.

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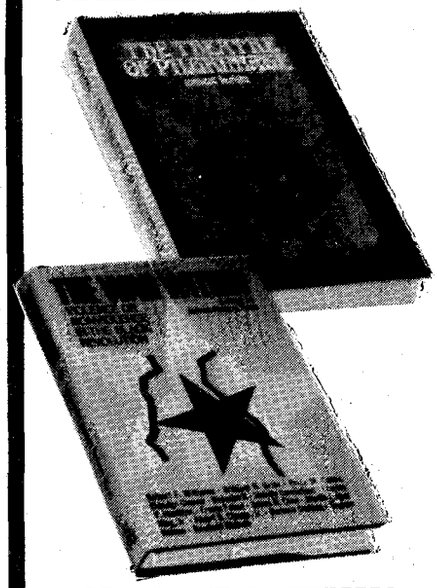

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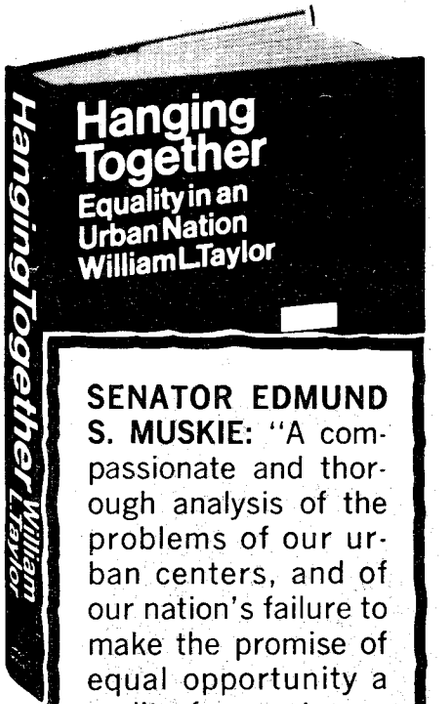

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A reader of this life need not go far into the book to be assured that the biographer knows his business as well as his subject. Raitt has seen all the sources and gone into all the disputed points. He argues well from dates and from probability, and he knows with sufficient intimacy all the great figures who, in any given life, are secondary to the principal. One especially valuable aspect of the portrait is the detailed story of Mérimée's work as the first preserver of France's architecture. As a youth, the future storyteller had thought of being a painter like his father, but his gifts were insufficient, as both he and the father soon found out. Yet what there was—the seeing eye—certainly served the writer of sharp vignettes and even more the official whose duty it was to save crumbling Romanesque churches, order tasteless accretions removed, or supervise needed repairs. All this, which included disbursing funds, soothing local susceptibilities, and struggling with the usual bureaucratic interference, Mérimée accomplished with a devotion and skill amounting to genius. His reports alone form a unique primary source.

It is hardly necessary to add that with so conscientious and capable a biographer in charge, all the smaller facets of the life down to the least are satisfyingly treated, whether Lord Brougham's creation of Cannes as a winter resort, Mérimée's part in defending Baudelaire, or the variations in his friendship with Stendhal. But no human work being flawless, its faults call for mention, especially when they are so easily remediable as the conspicuous pair in this book: Raitt writes English with a fine sense of all that prose requires, but he translates French into the sort of non-English that makes the original author sound ridiculous: "When I am saucy believe that I suffer very much." This practice of transliteration often leads to misunderstandings: "find an honest and elegant way . . . out" really means a *decent* way out —honesty is not in question. Elsewhere the "chimeras," which will puzzle most readers, are not Yeats's "rough beast" but simply "delusions." And so, unhappily, it goes.

The second fault, much less frequent, consists in the repetition in different words of information fully given a page or two before. This curious insistence occurs chiefly in the early portions of the book; it ought not to discourage anyone from going on to enjoy what is, taken all in all, a first-class performance about a singular and deeply engaging character. □

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CAREY McWILLIAMS

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: Conscience, Tactics, and the Law. *By Carl Cohen. Columbia University Press. $7.50.* Some of the central ideas of this immensely stimulating book were first presented, in a much abbreviated form, in *The Nation.* No finer, clearer, more penetrating exposition of the issues involved in civil disobedience has appeared. A biased editor's judgment? Perhaps; but read these essays before you reject it.

A CONSTELLATION OF HEROES: An Astrological Novel. *By David Cort. Grosset & Dunlap. $6.95.* A reissue of a novel first published in 1932 under the title *Give Us Heroes.* It was meant to entertain and astonish—and it still does.

THE CHICKENBONE SPECIAL. *By Dwayne Walls. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $6.95.* During the last thirty years about 30 million people have left the nation's farms and rural small towns for urban centers. Unlike the exodus of the Joads to California in the 1930s, this much larger migration has not been memorialized in another *Grapes of Wrath.* Not that there has been any mystery about it. A bibliography on the migration of farm people from 1946 to 1960 covers 35 pages in a Department of Agriculture publication. The sociologists and economists have been probing and theorizing, but until now no one has bothered to give us an overall view of this amazing mass migration. Now Mr. Walls, a fine reporter, has told the story, with consistent emphasis on the human side, letting the migrants tell their own stories.

That we have waited this long for such a fine report is an apt commentary on the extent to which domestic social realities have failed to surface to the level of general understanding and concern in the period from 1946 to date.

COMES THE REVOLUTION. *By Edward (Ted) W. Lewis. Arbor House. $6.50.* Of the widely read political columnists, Ted Lewis of the New York *Daily News* is the one to read first. He has been watching what Frank Kent called "the great game of politics" for

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forty years, and has finally been induced to put together some general reflections on the subject. He has never lost his interest in politics or his curiosity about politicians. He writes of politics with the same cool eye with which his colleague, Dick Young, writes about sports. He is a columnist, not a reporter; it is the game of politics, not the substance, that interests him. Politics is more than a game, but the game itself—the surface play of forces, the intrigue, the image making, the campaigning—deserves the close attention he has always given it.

IN FAILING HEALTH: The Medical Crisis and the A.M.A. *By Ed Cray. Bobbs-Merrill. $7.95.* A thorough investigative report on the continuing scandals of health services and the inequities in the American medical system.

MEETING THE BEAR: Journal of the Black Wars. *By Lloyd Zimpel. The Macmillan Co. $5.95.* A good reporter, Mr. Zimpel elects in this volume to extrapolate certain trends in American life and gives us, in fictional form, an account of the second Civil War. Today, as Harvey Swados notes in a comment about the book, "the nightmare lies not in some dark mysterious realm, but right next door to reality." Mr. Zimpel's vision may turn out to be only a nightmare, but then again. . . .

THE NIGHTMARE DECADE: The Era of Joe McCarthy. *By Fred J. Cook. Random House. $10.* We are deliberately breaking publication date on this book—it is scheduled for June—because we feel sure that our readers will want to have advance notice about it. This is not a historian's history of the 1950s but an immensely readable account of the decade by a gifted journalist who had a ringside seat at many of the turgid happenings here chronicled. If Lloyd Zimpel's novel warns of the nightmare that may lie ahead, Mr. Cook reminds us of the nightmare of the 1950s and draws some pertinent conclusions about it. It tells the story of The Great Witch Hunt —what it was really about, how it was engineered, what ends it served—with the skill, courage and directness that readers have come to expect from the author.

THE LONG WALK AT SAN FRANCISCO STATE: And other Essays. *By Kay Boyle. Grove Press. $5.* As Kay Boyle sees it, two "very living figures"—blacks and students—are in revolt against "the death-oriented forces in our society." She identifies the latter as "those who desperately resist any commitment to the science of being. Those in metaphysical revolt I see as men and women who are taking action against the vast unrealities they have been given to live by. Action in this sense (and doubtless in all senses) can be a written word or it can be paint on canvas, or it can be rock and roll; and it can also be the stammering and the shouting and the weeping of those in exile and those in prison who seek to clarify the fundamental processes so that all men may at least hope to live in freedom and pride." The truths that blacks and students are trying to voice are "more imperative than writing," and so Miss Boyle has found it difficult to go on writing stories and novels. But these four essays eloquently attest to the fact that she is writing as well as she has always written, if in new forms and about new subject matter.

THE MONEY GIVERS. *By Joseph C. Goulden. Random House. $8.95.* A look at the foundations by a top-notch investigative reporter. Here is what he has to report on the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation, one of the least known but most interesting money givers: It unhesitatingly accepted stocks with a book value of more than $800,000—and a market value twice that—from Lewis S. Rosenstiel, whose career had been marked by conflicts with assorted federal agencies and state liquor-control bodies. The J. Edgar Hoover Foundation's principal charity is the maintenance of the J. Edgar Hoover Library at the Freedoms Foundation, a fountain of right-wing largess which is located in, of all places, Valley Forge.

BLAMING THE VICTIM. *By William Ryan. Pantheon Books. $6.95.* Those of our readers who remember Mr. Ryan's "Savage Discovery: The Moynihan Report," from *The Nation* of November 22, 1965—an article whose echoes carried far and wide—will want to read this fine, and in many respects quite original, account of how we prefer to blame the victims of poverty rather than examine the inequalities of American society. □

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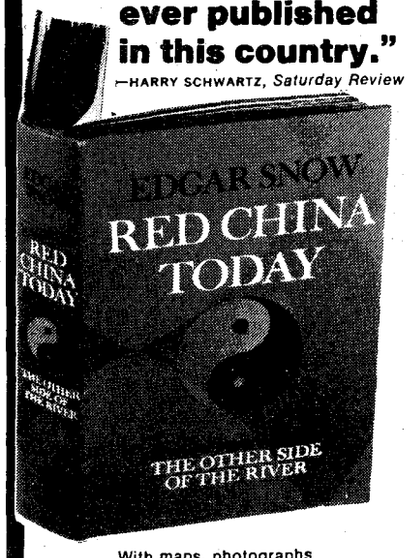

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ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Cubism has been somewhat antagonistically regarded by American artists since World War II. It has persisted as the infrastructure of paintings by Gorky and de Kooning, where it is stressed by their critics and not by their supporters. At the same time, other artists of the same generation, Barnett Newman, say, or Clyfford Still, have insisted on the abolition of everything Cubist. Pollock's great style change in 1947 could be described as a switch from late Cubism to a painterly, more continuous use of color. In the catalogue of "The Structure of Color" at the Whitney Museum, one of the younger abstract painters, Darby Bannard, noted: "I have never been comfortable with Cubism as a stylistic vehicle for painting, and I have a rather farfetched conceit that bringing color back to painting will bring painting back to a natural state it has not had since Impressionism."

Going around "The Cubist Epoch" at the Metropolitan Museum (until June 8), with these and other intervening ideas in one's head, what do Cubist paintings look like? Small, for one thing; obviously the scale of intimate easel painting was fundamental to the initiators of Cubism. Small paintings, internally intricate, done with great refinement, characterize the early years. Here are

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the multi-planed scaffoldings, in tender monochrome, of 1910-12, looking every bit as good as one had supposed they would. In them a pictorial surface of great animation is wrapped around images of figures (usually traditional half-lengths) and objects (familiar ones grouped together on a table top). Douglas Cooper, who arranged this excellent show, treats these accessible references as the signs of realism, but they seem more conventional than real. It has been said that the fluctuating objects are seen from various angles (front, back and sides), but what happens is more like the abolition of viewpoint than a sum of circulating viewpoints. Thus the painting becomes a constellation of discrete parts. Here are the *papiers collés* of 1912-14, in which slices of ready-made material are slotted into tenuous frameworks of subtle irregularity. In the earlier paintings, objects are fragmented, in the later collages they are conceptualized, sometimes represented by obvious substitutions, such as the pasted-in newsprint or wallpaper. This is not exactly the stuff of realism, although the objects are familiar to us.

The famous and beautiful portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, 1910, is exhibited and Mr. Cooper writes of it, in the ample catalogue: "Picasso was at pains to elucidate his planar structure by writing in descriptive details such as the eye, the nose, the well-brushed hair, the watch chain, the clasped hands. . . ." That is true, and the cues are placed at expected intervals to make the floating planes of the picture conform to an image of the sitter's body. To Mr. Cooper, Picasso and Braque are presenting "essential information," which is understood in the context of Cubist criticism to mean the real, invariable nature of form. But of course this is the cliché of classicism, in which the artist is said to imitate ideal Form, not the accidental forms of the world. The trouble with the show, once one speculates beyond the pleasure of what is present, is in fact Cooper's dependence on Kahnweiler, who has always maintained the popular classicizing view of Cubism.

There are thirty-five Braques, thirty-two Grises, sixty-five Picassos, and 189 works from *les autres* in "The Cubist Epoch." Kahnweiler's view of Cubism, which is that there were three geniuses and everybody else was light, minor or prone to error, is accepted by Mr. Cooper. Obviously, Kahnweiler's group is very good, but he was their dealer and has managed to perpetuate the legend of his artists' greatness and of his own insight. All this is repeated in *Mes Galeries et Mes Peintres*, 1961, a translation

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Walter Lowenfels

of which will be published next month as a starter in the Viking Press series, The Documents of Modern Art.

Cooper's show ranges widely, but everyone is judged by his grasp of the essentializing aesthetic attributed to the big three (make it four, because Léger is also admitted to the club). The late Paul Feeley observed once that "among the things I loved about Renaissance art and, perhaps I liked best, were all the guide lines and perspective lines that were left in the drawings." In the finished paintings "these things became implicit, whereas the drawings made them explicit." I think that that is a clue to the appeal of Cubism: it made explicit the kind of marks that were buried in earlier paintings. A part of the process of painting, known to all artists, was brought to light and given the prestige of a summarizing quality. Since Cubism could be said to be revealing the basic form, or at least the diagrammatic structure lost in earlier forms of art, it could be called "essentializing." The geometrics however are less like symbols of the absolute than willful diagrams playing seriously with different degrees of reference. Perhaps that is why Edgar Wind observed in *Art and Anarchy*: "Some writers have extolled Cubism as a puritanical sort of discipline . . . but in fact Cubist art has always displayed the vigor and license of the capriccio. . . . What could be more 'capricious' than a Cubist collage at its best?" This catches well the pleasure one takes in Cubism's interplay of the diagrammatic and the sensual. Certainly "The Cubist Epoch" does little to persuade us of the existence of a great canon of form; the effect is of improvisation and process, of wit and sensibility; in these terms, it is marvelous.

The diffusion of Cubism proceeded in two ways. In the case of Mondrian and Malevich it led to Abstract art, though Mr. Cooper takes no satisfaction in this "subjective" retreat from Cubist "realism." On the other hand, many artists modified Cubism in the direction of scenic space and more sustained naturalism of form. On the whole Cooper disapproves of this line as a dilution of the formality of the Cubist core, or what he calls, revealing the absolutist premise, "True Cubism." (It is worth noting that the later style of Picasso, in which Cubist drawing and solid form are mixed, is anticipated by the departures from Cubist strictness of Boccioni and Gleizes.)

The adaptation of Cubism to the Grand Manner (Delaunay and Henri Le Fauconnier), to genre and narrative (Gleizes and Duchamp), to Art Nouveau decoration (Metzinger), and to nature romanticism (Franz Marc and Heinrich Campendonck) are ramifications of extraordinary interest and of a variety that only a major style could support. Even though Cooper's catalogue is not appreciative of all this, he has collected many of the relevant pictures, and for this one is grateful. It seems clear, however, that a nonclassicizing, nonabsolutist history of Cubism is in order. Among the younger art historians who are working on the subject is Edward Fry, but he too is not free of what I shall call the Kahnweiler fallacy. In his *Cubism* (1966) Fry mentions the followers of Picasso, Braque and Gris, but only to deny the possibility of their art being "another sort of cubism." Yet it is a chart of the permutations, not more legislation, that we need after half a century of the narrow view. □

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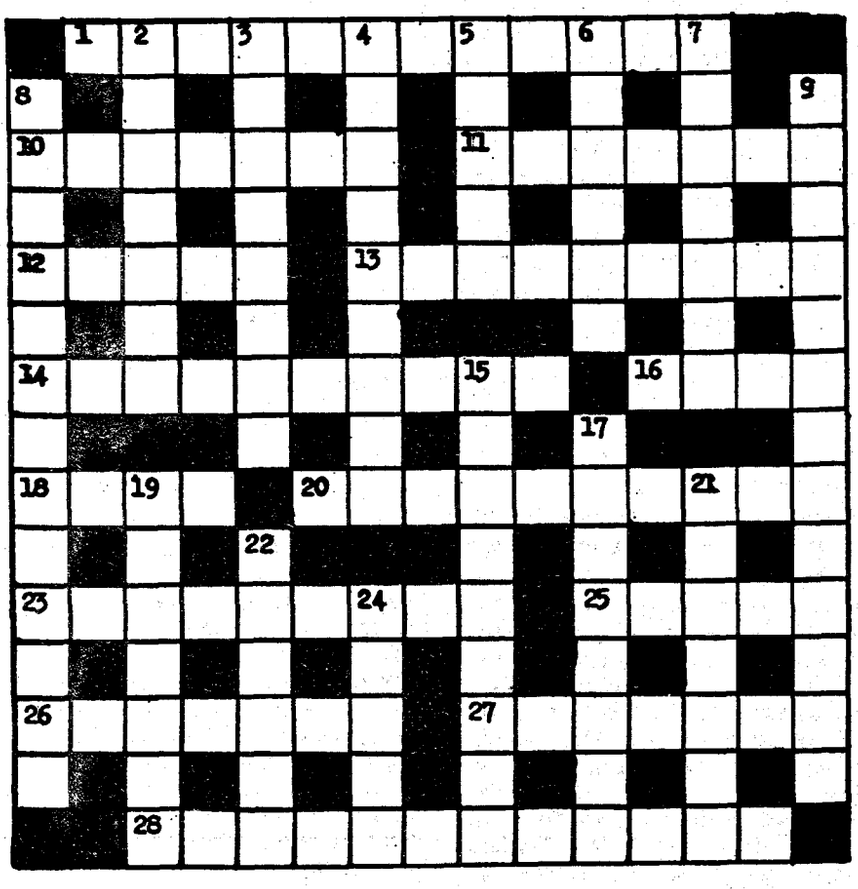
Crossword Puzzle No. 1391

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Straightening the hemline of formal clothes? (7,5)
10 Get too big for one's britches? 7)
11 A notion, mistakenly, that one might be a gentleman? (7)
12 Brayera OK's us, possibly. (5)
13 Very, very bad! (9)
14 Might be spray or dust needed to correct fused icing. (10)
16 A feller might have, though commonly fired. (4)
18 One in a hundred? Quite the opposite before now. (4)
20 Presage a show of red make-up? (10)
23 Russian writer, but not Mr. Love, it seems. (9)
25 Evidently the stove is within reach. (5)
26 Likely to cause damage. (7)
27 Duets to arrange for the old Romans, in self-defense. (7)
28 Separate neighbors? That's their function. (6,6)

DOWN

2 Gives a person a more or less powerful term. (5,2)
3 Not exactly synonymous with the last dwarf's name! (8)
4 A state of turmoil, once we mix the ingredients. (3,6)
5 Hang the chaplain that could make it! (5)
6 Tree in total dehiscence. (6)
7 Where there might be heaps of fun for the children. (4,3)
8 Does it imply Smee's boss was a Dutchman? (4,2,7)
9 Nectar derivative, condensed water and cucurbit to start off the meal? (8,5)
15 Causes tears, even when disturbed, and eventually weakens. (9)
17 Is a charm, naturally, though unexpected! (8)
19 Stock food one might draw on? (7)
21 Plate to deprive of character, if it had a heart. (7)
22 Leave quickly! The drink seems to be bad! (3,3)
24 Savor one of those bad 28 things? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1390

ACROSS: 1 Flabbergasts; 9 Hullabaloo; 10 Beef; 11 The North; 12 Treads; 13 Needs; 15 Downtown; 16 Isotonic; 19 Robot; 21 Bonito; 22 Tailback; 24 Skim; 25 Iconoclast; 26 Head mistress. DOWN: 2 Laughing stocks; 3 Balance; 4 Ember; 5 Galahad; 6 Shot tower; 7 Subject; 8 Get down to cases; 14 Santonica; 17 Triumph; 18 Cutworm; 20 Babbler; 23 Irons.

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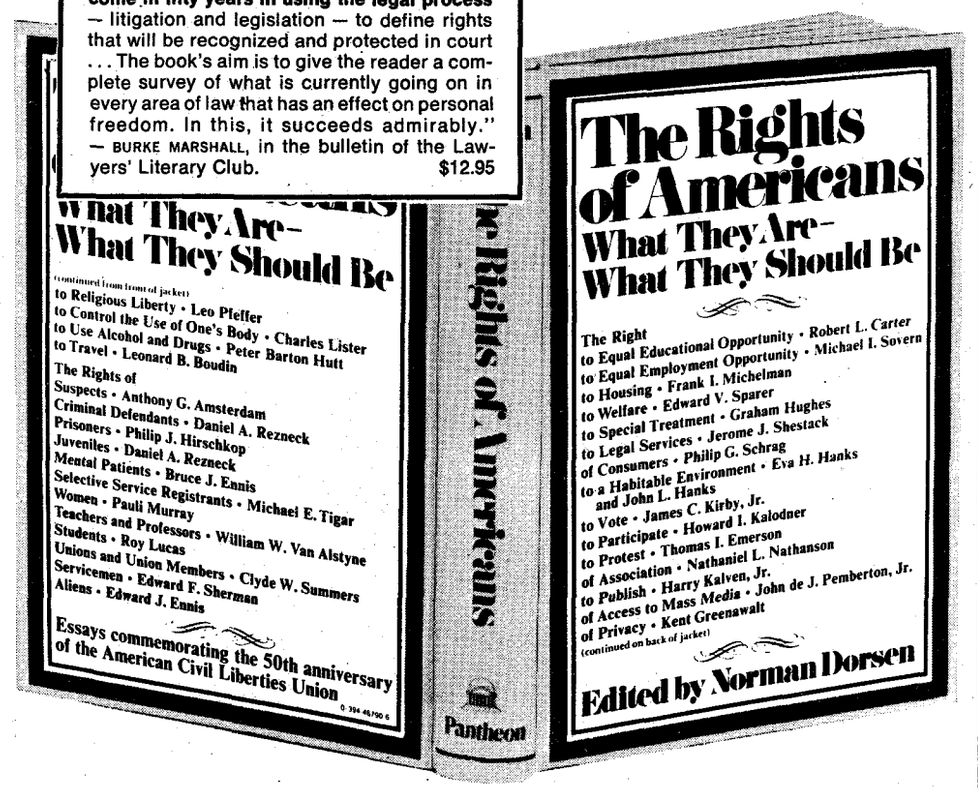
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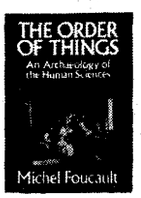

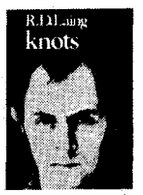

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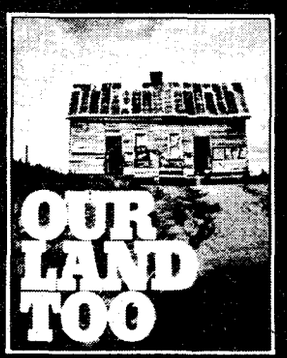

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